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"Literary Bantlings:"

Addenda to the Holmes Bibliography

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BIBLIOGRAPHERS scarcely expect to avoid error, but probably they do not often miss by a margin of three months the discovery of their subject's first appearance in print. *A Bibliography of Oliver Wendell Holmes** was published early in July 1953; on October 6, 1953, came a letter from Goodspeed's Book Shop announcing the acquisition of a marked copy of *The Offering* of 1829, the annotator identifying two of the poems as by Oliver Wendell Holmes. Finding the "literary bantlings swathed in green silk"[1] has led to the identification of what may well be Holmes's first appearance in print—four quatrains entitled "Serenade" in *The Evening Gazette* (Boston) of June 28, 1828—and to the discovery of a new signature—R. L., the last letters of Holmes's given names.

Holmes's vexing allusions to his earliest published verses[2] have

* Thomas Franklin Currier (1873-1946). *A Bibliography of Oliver Wendell Holmes;* edited by Eleanor M. Tilton for The Bibliographical Society of America (New York, The New York University Press, 1953). xiii, 707 pp.

[1] John T. Morse, Jr., *Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes* (Boston, 1896), I, 55. Letter to Barnes, misdated March 28, 1828.

[2] Not to mention Holmes's membership in the undergraduate club grandly called *Diaphemizomenoi,* a name that implies that the membership was composed of "those

enticed more than one curious investigator into hours of fruitless search through gift-books and newspapers. Even the correction of John T. Morse's misdating of Holmes's letter of March 28, 1829, to Phinehas Barnes led no further than the elimination of possible gift-books, leaving as the only likely candidates *The Token* and *The Offering*, but from internal evidence alone one could not claim any of the unidentified poems in either of these annuals as Holmes's work. An equally troublesome clue is Holmes's letter of July 15, 1889, in which he says: "I think it was in some newspaper that my first published lines appeared, but the first periodical in which I wrote was 'The Collegian' . . . in the year 1830."[3] The present writer has annually since 1937 given hopeful but unrewarded attention to New England newspapers. A clue left by Sarah Josepha Hale in her *Flora's Interpreter* of 1832 has yielded no discovery, and the lines to "Sukey" Lenox described and quoted by Holmes in a letter to Barnes, January 13, 1830, have not turned up.[4] Holmes's early preference for anonymity is a stumbling-block. Although the assumption that Holmes, when he used a signature at all, kept to his initials used together or singly is a doubtful inference to draw from his advice to a young writer to stick to one signature, it is an assumption so far borne out wherever pseudonyms attached to likely poems have been tracked down.[5] The search is further complicated by the inclination to assume that Holmes's verse is likely to be hu-

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publishing" their work. See Edward Everett Hale, *James Freeman Clarke* (Boston, 1891), p. 35, and E. M. Tilton, *Amiable Autocrat* (New York, 1947), p. 51 and p. 296, n. 31; the club is also listed in the Class Book, p. 11 (Harvard Archives).

[3] Brander Matthews, *An Introduction to the Study of American Literature* (New York, 1896), p. 175, in facsimile.

[4] Sarah Josepha Hale, ed., *Flora's Interpreter* (Boston, 1832), p. 144; sixteen lines attributed to Holmes, beginning "Alas that in our earliest blush." The fourteen lines, p. 133, also attributed to Holmes, were discovered in *The New-England Magazine;* see *A Bibliography*, pp. 419-420, "Words to Woman." The lines "To S—L—" are not printed by Morse; see Carroll A. Wilson, *Thirteen Author Collections of the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1950), II, 460, and *A Bibliography*, pp. 346-347.

[5] Morse, I, 345; *A Bibliography*, p. 502. (The doubtful assumption is mine, not Currier's.)

morous, an inclination difficult to resist no matter how much one guards against it and takes into account Holmes's declaration that his first humorous verse appears in *The Collegian*.[6] The verses attributed to Holmes in the marked *Offering* are of types commonplace in their day, with nothing to distinguish them from other reasonably competent verses of a similar kind; neither is humorous, and neither shows any positive qualities characteristic of Holmes, although both are free, as is most of Holmes's verse, of that tumescence common in the poetry of the period. Without the annotator's evidence, no claim for them could be securely founded.

That Holmes should have contributed to a Unitarian publication in the midst of the crisis in his father's orthodox church is no more surprising than that the Unitarian leader Andrews Norton should have asked him for a contribution. Norton, late returned from Europe, had very little time to gather the materials for the annual, which was intended for sale in late December at a Unitarian fair on behalf of infant education; an introductory "Advertisement" (p. [iii]) declares that the publication "had not been thought of at the beginning of November last, and the printing was not completed till near the close of that month." The copyright notice gives the date December 18, 1828 (p. [ii]), but it was not until December 25, the last day of the fair, that the *Boston Daily Advertiser* carried the first announcement of it, reprinting the prefatory "Advertisement." In compiling the book, Norton had to depend upon what was at hand: work by his English friend Felicia Hemans, that solicited from Harvard Divinity School students including Emerson, and that of such local ladies as Mrs. Child and Mrs. Follen and of such protégées as Eliza Rotch and Louisa Jane Park.[7] It is not surprising, then, that Norton in his

[6] A.l.s., October 28, 1860, owned by George T. Goodspeed.

[7] Responsible for the publication of Felicia Hemans in this country, Norton was a close friend of the English poet, whom he saw as an ideal poetic champion of Unitarianism. One suspects him also of being the principal propagator of the mistaken notion of the artistic excellence of her work. Correspondence in the Houghton Library shows him to have had some of her manuscripts on hand. The Norton cor-

haste should turn also to an undergraduate and local boy subsequently to be chosen class poet and already known among collegians and townsmen as a versifier.

The provenance of *The Offering* that discloses the "bantlings" gives authority to the identifications; the copy comes from the library of the Jenks family of Bedford, descendants of the Reverend William Jenks, friend, colleague, and would-be biographer of Abiel Holmes.[8] The pencilled identifications in the Table of Contents and in the text are in a hand not demonstrably that of the Reverend William Jenks, but the provenance of the copy at least allows the supposition that the identifications, if not his own, may well have had the benefit of his personal acquaintance with the Holmes family. The annotations are demonstrably contemporary; the annotator knows of the recent marriages of Mrs. Child and Mrs. Follen, but does not know of the marriage of Eliza Rotch to Professor John Farrar.[9] Of the forty-three identi-

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respondence also reveals that both Eliza Rotch and Louisa Park sought his literary advice. Seven Divinity School students were responsible for thirty of the fifty-three contributions. They were impressed into drawing upon matter scarcely fresh, since one of Emerson's dated from 1822 and another from 1826 (Ralph Thompson, "Emerson and *The Offering for 1829*," *American Literature*, VI, May, 1934, 152, 153). At least one of Hedge's contributions, "To Harriet," was three or four years old; it appears in a sheaf of Hedge's manuscripts (fair copies) titled "College Exercises," in the Class of 1825 papers (Harvard Archives). Such was the editor's haste that he had to omit one contribution later issued as a supplement: Honig's Owl-Tower. A German Tale. Cambridge, Published by Hilliard and Brown. 1829 (yellow wrappers with printed paper label, "Honig's Owl-Tower. A German Tale." on front wrapper). The "Advertisement" (p. [3] explains: "It was found necessary to bind up the 'Offering' before this tale, which was to have appeared in it, and was already in the press, could be finished." A copy of this supplementary pamphlet is in the collection of Parkman D. Howe.

[8] Henry Fitch Jenks (Harvard '63) was the son of John Henry Jenks, bookseller and publisher, and the grandson of the Reverend William Jenks, orthodox clergyman; Henry Fitch Jenks's mother came from the Fitch family of Cambridge. See *Amiable Autocrat*, pp. 147-148, for Holmes's letters to William Jenks discouraging him from writing a biography of Abiel Holmes. The letters, incidentally, show that Holmes cherished considerable rancor against the deacons of his father's church for their part in the schism, and little against the Unitarians.

[9] Eliza Lee Cabot married Charles Follen on September 15, 1828; Lydia Maria Francis married David Lee Child in October 1828. (The American Antiquarian Society copy identifies the author of "To a Lady" as "Miss Francis"; the annotator knows of Miss Cabot's marriage to Follen.) Eliza Rotch, whose intentions were

fications made in the Jenks copy, all but three agree with those made in the Quincy copy in Houghton Library (Emerson collection) which contains the same number of identifications.[10] The Jenks copy attributes "A Castle in the Air" to [David] Barlow; the Quincy copy and marked copies in the American Antiquarian Society and the New-York Historical Society attribute the poem to [Stephen Greenleaf] Bulfinch. The poem "Sunset" in the Jenks copy has the name [Frederic Henry] Hedge erased; the

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filed in Cambridge on August 24, 1828 (*Vital Records of Cambridge Massachusetts to the Year 1850*, II) married John Farrar in New Bedford October 10, 1828 (*Vital Records of New Bedford Massachusetts to the Year 1850*, II). The annotator of the Lowell copy of *The Offering* (Houghton Library Emerson collection) is the only one who knows of the marriage; he identifies correctly "To Disappointment" as by "Mrs. Farrar." The annotator of the New-York Historical Society copy has evidently merely heard the name, for his identification is "Roach." The lady herself, presenting a copy to her cousin, signed the inscription with her maiden name (Houghton Library Emerson collection).

[10] The annotated copies examined, with the number of identifications made in each, are as follows: Houghton Library Emerson collection, two copies, one inscribed "Anna L. Quincy—1828" and the other presented to Harvard by Ralph Lowell; the Quincy copy has 43 identifications; the Lowell copy, 20; the New-York Historical Society copy has 33 identifications; the American Antiquarian Society copy has 27. The Boston Public Library copy, a presentation copy from Mrs. Child, has 13, counting a correct one erased and, as identifications, an ms. correction in Mrs. Child's poem, and a marginal rule and pointing hand showing that the "lady" responsible for the series of parodies using the word "Barb" is Mrs. Child. The identifications in the Quincy copy, except for a few in the text, do not appear to be in Miss Quincy's hand. The Houghton Emerson collection has a third copy, the presentation from "Eliza Rotch"; the only annotation, however, is a note to "Fame"—"R W Emerson when 26 years old." The figures given here disregard identifications of poems by Felicia Hemans. The Jenks copy identifies all of them, but the absence of such identifications in other copies seems to be without significance, for three are identified in the text (two being juvenilia) anyway, and the American Antiquarian Society copy has Norton's name appended to the Hemans titles apparently simply in recognition of Norton as the source of the poems and the author of the notes to them. The figures also disregard the identification of the author of "Hymn for an Infant School," the name being printed in the text, and that of "Former Days," initialed in print F. W. P. G., and correctly identified in the Jenks copy as Francis W. P. Greenwood. See Ralph Thompson, *American Literary Annuals & Gift Books 1825-1865* (New York, 1936), pp. 96-99.

The binding, where it is original, is green silk (maroon also seen). The only bibliographical point noted in copies seen is that the frontispiece lithograph of the "Episcopal Church in Cambridge," sometimes appears with the caption alone and sometimes with the caption and the added note: "Published by Hilliard & Brown." The printer and bookseller William Hilliard, incidentally, was one of the conspiring deacons of Abiel Holmes's church. See note 7 above for a record of a supplement.

same poem is attributed to H[enry] Tudor in the Quincy and Lowell copies (Houghton), and is unidentified in others. In the Jenks copy, the poem "Longing," translated from Goethe, is attributed also to Barlow, the attribution erased; the Quincy and New-York Historical Society copies confirm the attribution to Barlow. Except for the two attributions to Holmes, the Jenks copy has no identification not appearing in one or more of the other marked copies; it does not, however, identify the three contributions by Louisa Jane Park, identified correctly in the Quincy copy (two are identified in the Lowell copy). Two of the Jenks copy attributions appear in only one other copy: "Letter from Spain" to S. Storrow and "Come Forth" to Barlow in the Quincy copy. Uncertain in two of the attributions made and apparently incorrect in only one, the Jenks copy may be taken, considering its provenance and demonstrable contemporaneity, as correct in its attribution of "The Lover's Return," signed R. L. (pp. [193]-194) and "Burial of a Maiden at Sea" (p. [195]) to Holmes.

Although neither poem is to Holmes's diminishing credit as a poet, we reprint them both here because they will demonstrate by their very commonplaceness that the claim we wish to make for "Serenade," also signed R. L., has validity.

THE LOVER'S RETURN.

"O, TELL me, my daughter, why is it, that now
There's a tear in thine eye, and a cloud on thy brow?
Thy footsteps no longer are light in the vale,
And the cheek, once so rosy, is haggard and pale.

"I will bring thee, my daughter, a garland so fair,
To entwine in the locks of thy dark waving hair."
"Its freshness will fade, and its bloom will decay,
Then weave me no wreaths that will wither away."

"I will bring thee a gem, that shall sparkle as bright
As the planet that flames on the girdle of night."
"I ask not thy jewels, their splendor is vain,
They will sooth [*sic*] not my slumbers, will ease not my pain."

"Oh weep not, my daughter, while others are gay,
It is not for thee to be grieving to day;
Let sorrow no longer o'ershadow thy charms,
For thy long absent lover has come to thine arms."

The gloom passed away from the brow of his child;
Full deeply she crimsoned, but sweetly she smiled;
And soon by her lover, the maiden did stand,
With a wreath in her tresses, a gem on her hand.

R. L.

BURIAL OF A MAIDEN AT SEA.

O LAY her in the stormy grave,
And soft her slumbers be,
Her pillow is the mountain wave,
Her tomb the boundless sea.

Old Ocean round the maiden's breast
His mantle green shall fold,
And angels guard her silent rest
Beneath the waters cold.

Still shall the angry tempests sweep,
The ceaseless tide shall flow;
But wind, nor wave, shall break her sleep
Who lies in peace below.

Farewell! The waves are closing fast
Around thy fading form;
O may thy spirit find at last,
A home without a storm.

The signature R. L. led us to return to the annual newspaper chase to look both for that signature and for the possible and likely signature of R. L. S.[11] The elusiveness of the signatures was paradoxically encouraging, for it was not to be expected that before the run of poems in *The Collegian* of 1830, the tyro Holmes

[11] Had he needed one, Holmes could have found a precedent for such a signature at the end of the first publication of another distinguished contributor of *The Offering*. Emerson used the last letters of his names—H. O. N.—at the end of his "Thoughts on the Religion of the Middle Ages" (*The Christian Disciple*, new series, No. 24, November and December, 1822, p. 408).

would have published much. The search turned up one poem signed R. L. and one signed R. L. S., the very rarity of the signatures announcing that the poet is a newcomer to the newspaper columns.[12] In the first column of the first page of *The Evening Gazette* of June 28, 1828, five months before the publication of *The Offering*, there appears over the signature R. L. the poem "Serenade"; it is headed in caps "For The Evening Gazette," indicating an original contribution. We reprint the poem here with the obvious typographical errors of the original corrected:[13]

The moon is up, and soft and bright,
  And tender is her light in June,
For is this not a lovely night,
  And is not that a splendid moon?

Oh, that you knew how often, love,
  When I was in the tropic sea,
My eyes were on the moon above
  While thought was wandering back to thee.

And when we lost the polar star,
  Far southward of the central line,
To you I struck the soft guitar,
  And was your moonlight song like mine?

For mine was love, as still it is;
  And shall it be forever crost,
And must I in a night like this
  But sigh to find "Love's Labour Lost"? R. L.

The likely signature R. L. S., the last letters of Holmes's names, appears at the tail of a humorous poem in *The Columbian Centinel* (Boston) in the poetry column called "The Fount" (p.

[12] The signature "R. L." does appear in this period in magazines outside New England, a few being noted in the New York University card index to periodicals. But unless a poem were sufficiently interesting, its circulation in this period was confined to local periodicals and newspapers, and unless a poet were already well known (e.g. Willis), he was not likely to try a market far from home.

[13] All the errors but one—"Or" for "And" in the next to the last line—are errors of punctuation.

4), on January 27, 1830. In subject, tone, and rhythm, these verses, spoofing the newspapers, are in the vein of Holmes's contributions to *The Collegian*, the first number of which must have been already in print by that date.[14] We reprint the lines here, omitting the preliminary prose (not by Holmes) and correcting the misspelling "subteranean."

FOR THE CENTINEL FOUNT

SELECTIONS FROM THE NEWSPAPERS.

A tax on hemp has been proposed—
By convicts in the county prison—
Strange facts have lately been disclosed—
From which we learn that pork has risen.

A black was taken Friday last—
Stealing Sir Francis Bacon's phrases—
Within a single year have past—
A coach and several handsome chaises.

She was a stale and starch old maid—
The prettiest ever man set eyes on—
So very killing it was said—
Three worthy butchers died by poison.

Two hundred casks of shingle nails—
Were brought last autumn to the hammer—
The secretary, say the mails—
Is publishing a work on grammar.

A farce is acting at the South—
In the Virginia Convention—
A lady with the sweetest mouth—
Said things too scandalous to mention.

The razors made by Smith and Son—
Are said to be extremely cutting—
A steady man of twenty-one—
Would like to get a place for strutting.

[14] The first number of *The Collegian* was noticed in *The New-England Galaxy* of February 5, 1830.

The sermon preached on Sunday night—
Has been accused of taking purses—
Missing, a puppy nearly white—
Addicted much to writing verses.

A subterranean arch was found—
By men at work upon the steeple—
There now are lying in the pound—
Great numbers of the starving people.

A maid too false, and yet too fair—
Was roundly whipped for picking pockets—
Just landed, thirty bales of hair—
Much used for bracelets and for lockets.

A fellow has been seen of late—
Extremely regular at meeting—
And Turkey in its present state—
Is very pleasant, wholesome eating.

People who do not make their wills—
Require a copious ablution—
The celebrated bilious pills—
Have done tremendous execution.

R. L. S.

After January 1830, Holmes's known appearances might seem sufficiently frequent to discourage further search, save in following Mrs. Hale's still elusive clue; nevertheless, the annual search has turned up one other possibility. It was in 1830 that Holmes was working most assiduously "shoulder to shoulder and quill to quill" with John O. Sargent in *The Collegian*, *The New-England Galaxy*, and *The Amateur*.[15] Known poems by

[15] Morse, I, 145. This is the period when Sargent and Holmes were printing in the last two papers the poems that were gathered to make up *Illustrations of the Athenaeum Gallery*. Here one might add that these explorations of the newspapers reveal the justice of Holmes's complaints of imitators whose copying led him to write "The Last Leaf" in a form that would instantly disclose the imitator. A "Ballad" in *The Columbian Centinel* of October 30, 1830, is a bad copy of "Old Ironsides," and a poet signing himself F. A. D. has a series of badly done steals from Holmes in the same paper between September 8 and November 10, 1830. F. A. D. ultimately sneaks into the *Galaxy* on December 10, 1830, after the tandem of

the two young men appear intermittently in the *Galaxy* from May through August. At least one pair of poems hitherto unremarked appear to be by Holmes and Sargent. Appearing in *The New-England Galaxy* of July 9, 1830, the first of the pair is written in heroic couplets (56 lines) and entitled "Confession of a Cocoa-nut"; it is unsigned. The second is titled "Sapphics" and is signed S. From the first, claimed here for Holmes, we quote characteristic lines:

> —And must I tell the petty griefs that wind
> Their serpent coils around the prostrate mind;
> How long, in contact with the meaner hoard,
> I lay unpurchased on the huckster's board,
> Watched by the knave, and stared at by the fool,
> And eyed by children as they passed from school;
> How ladies ogled, and how servants sighed,
> With look all wistful and with mouth all wide—
> How the thin dandy in his tailor's coat,
> Felt in his pockets, guileless of a groat;
> How lawyers saw me with dilated eye,
> Too proud to cheapen, and too poor to buy;
> How doctors blessed me, as the welcome sign
> Of sickly seasons, when the doctors dine,
> And fancy smiled at heaps of coming ills,
> And viewed with joy my progeny of pills;
> How sage old women called me worse than lead,
> How witlings laughed and thought of ——'s head;
> The skull so thick—the hair so sadly thin—
> All hard without, but oh! how soft within!

Finally, after this article had been written, William A. Jackson of the Houghton Library reported the acquisition of a Holmes letter offering to the editor of the *Boston Daily Advertiser* a poem to be printed anonymously. The letter, written from the Beacon Street address, is unhelpfully dated: May 13th. Favored with rather better luck than the searcher of newspaper columns has a

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Holmes and Sargent had left it. One of F. A. D.'s lucubrations purloins the subject of "The Last Leaf."

right to expect, we located the poem on the third try. It appears in the issue of May 15, 1876, with the "few words of preface" that the letter promises:

To the Editors of the Boston Daily Advertiser:—

Dear Sirs,—We on the Boston side of the Charles River are going crazy with the noise of a Cambridge drum-band which has chosen a spot for its daily performances from which the sound comes to our ears as if they were thumping away in our back-yards. The water seems to act like a sounding board. The noise makes the well wretched and the sick delirious. We can neither talk, read, write nor even think with any coherence while it is going on, which is every evening, at the hours when quiet is most welcome and most needed.

To show you what our grievance is, I send you the following attempt at an ode suggested by the opening season, and written by a neighbor of mine, a young man of promise, who has an autograph album and shows other indications of talent. I wish you to see what came of his effort, which but for the interruption of his train of thought might have done honor to our literature and compared not unfavorably with the ode of Horace which Mr. Merrill translated so happily for Saturday's Advertiser.

Yours, truly,

E Pluribus Unus.

The poem, unsigned, is titled, "'Over the River.' A New Version, with Instrumental Accompaniment." Through eleven intentionally maddening stanzas, Holmes has scattered variations on the drumming phrase "rub a dub dub." One stanza of this comic complaint suffices to illustrate:

Mayor of Cantabridge, what shall we do?
Rub a dub rub dub dub!
Drummers are many and poets few;
Can't you make use of a halter or two?
Rub a dub rub a dub rub dub rub,
Rub a dub dub dub DUB!

Not with absolute certainty, but certainly with confidence, the following additions to Part II of the Holmes bibliography may therefore be made:

Burial of a Maiden at Sea.

The Offering, Cambridge, 1829 (copyright dated December 18, 1828), p. [195]; unsigned. Attributed to Holmes in the Jenks copy, now in the collection of Parkman D. Howe.

Confession of a Cocoanut.

The New-England Galaxy, Boston, July 9, 1830, vol. XIII, no. 665; unsigned.

Lover's Return, The.

The Offering, Cambridge, 1829 (copyright dated December 18, 1828), p. [193]; signed R. L. Attributed to Holmes in the Jenks copy.

"Over the River." A New Version, with Instrumental Accompaniment.

Boston Daily Advertiser, May 15, 1876.

Selections from the Newspapers.

The Columbian Centinel, Boston, January 27, 1830; signed: R. L. S.

Serenade.

The Evening Gazette, Boston, June 28, 1828; signed: R. L.

Since the publication of the bibliography, two additional poems have been credited to Holmes, one demonstrably not his, and the other possibly so. In his article "The Holmes Tradition," Oscar Kraines claims for Holmes a six-line tribute to Amos Lawrence and Judah Touro, lines honoring their large donations to the fund for the Bunker Hill Monument.[16] A check of the sources named by Kraines has shown that the attribution of the lines to Holmes rests upon the unsupported assertion of Oliver Wiswall in the Notes & Queries column of the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of November 18, 1911. Wiswall, whose subject was Touro, simply assumed that these occasional verses were written by the poet who had written so many others, but investigation of original accounts

[16] *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Association,* XLVII (June, 1953), 341-359. The lines and the attribution appear at p. 346.

of the occasion, a dinner held at Faneuil Hall, June 17, 1843, after the dedication of the monument, reveals that the author of the lines is the man who presided on that occasion, read them himself, and printed them in full in his own newspaper, the *Boston Daily Courier* of June 20, 1843. The author of the lines beginning "Amos and Judah—venerated names" is without a doubt Joseph T. Buckingham.[17]

The second poem claimed for Holmes, thirty-four lines of heroic couplets, headed "The 'Best Room'" and signed O. W. Holmes, was discovered in an unidentified clipping in a scrapbook. As the discoverer, Alexander E. Jones, notes, the internal evidence is overwhelming.[18] In fact the doubts the reader feels arise from there being almost too much "evidence" in the thirty-four lines; so much that before accepting them, one would wish to make certain that they were not written in imitation of Holmes by a clever writer who rather overdid it. The lines read as if they had been excerpted (or were meant to appear so) from a long poem, although no such known poem by Holmes appears to be a likely source. If the lines are by Holmes and did come from a longer poem, it should be possible to track them down: what is needed is some clue to a date. The scrapbook in which they were

[17] Kraines's remarkably erroneous footnote gives only one contemporary reference, that to the *Boston Evening Transcript* of "June 17, 1843," on which date there was no issue of the paper. Both the *Transcript* and the *Advertiser* of June 19 report the occasion, the *Advertiser* quoting four of the six lines of verse, but their reports are nothing like so complete as that of the *Courier*, which gives a full page account, including the poem in full. Kraines cites also William R. Lawrence's *Extracts from the Diary and Correspondence of the Late Amos Lawrence* (Boston, 1855), where at pages 173-174 (not 124-125 as Kraines has it), the *Courier* report (the source not named), including the poem, is quoted. Kraines's 1911 *Boston Daily Advertiser* reference is to the issue of December 23, 1911, in which there is nothing about the poem or the occasion, although in the Notes & Queries column there is an allusion to Touro; it is in the same column, under note no. 2477, in the issue of November 18, 1911 (pt. 3, p. 6, col. 6), that Wiswall tosses off the allusion to Holmes as the author of the lines in question. Holmes's reputation as an occasional versifier would have been fresh in Wiswall's mind two years after the anniversary of Holmes's birth; he appears simply to have taken it for granted that any occasional poem in and about Boston was by Holmes.

[18] *Boston Public Library Quarterly*, VII (April, 1955), 107-110. The scrapbook is privately owned (Springdale, Arkansas).

found contains clippings dating from 1868 to 1899; it seems unlikely that a long poem written after 1868 would have escaped notice. That certain lines should parallel passages in *Elsie Venner* would be more impressive evidence if it could be demonstrated that the verses were in print before the novel. The two long poems written after 1868 in which a passage describing a Calvinist home might appear are *A Family Record* and *The Schoolboy*, both of which exist in private printings in the large type Holmes liked to use for public readings. For neither occasion would these verses be really suitable, although the temptation to find a place for them in the Andover poem is very great, the reference to Mr. and Mrs. W. inviting an identification with Mr. and Mrs. Leonard Woods, whose son, a schoolmate of Holmes's, was, according to his biographer, the frivolous poet's disapproving companion.[19] What is needed is some clinching external evidence as well as the date and identity of the publication from which the lines were clipped.

The discoveries of the poem claimed for Holmes by Jones and those claimed for him in this article suggest the need for a title, first-line, and signature index to poems printed in American newspapers, particularly for the early period when so many young poets made their reputations out of the newspapers. Such an index would greatly facilitate the preparation of definitive bibliographies, and would probably turn up new material of interest and possibly even of importance. The difficulty of working with unindexed newspapers is further illustrated by

[19] Edwards A. Park, *The Life and Character of Leonard Woods, D.D., L.L.D.* (Andover, 1880), p. 12. "When a member of Phillips Academy he was often accompanied in his walks by one of his fellow-students, who was then a poet, and afterwards became a noted one; but young Woods was wearied and annoyed with his companion's fancies, which, although beautiful in themselves, were not associated with any principle of science or of morals." As a record of the younger Woods's feelings, Park's testimony is doubtful; it is just at this time that Holmes had been consulting Park in preparation for his article on Jonathan Edwards and on his first visit had received a dubious welcome; as he wrote to Egbert Smyth, Jr., July 9, 1880, "I remember the *gun* on my first visit—but I have since been shown very politely over the house." (Copy, not in Holmes's hand, Holmes collection, Houghton Library.)

the fact that even with ample clues provided by letters, Currier and I both missed a prose contribution to the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of February 16, 1867 (p. 2, col. 3), where appears an obituary notice of the poet Forceythe Willson (his name there misspelled with one "l," an error that must have irritated the author). The notice is signed "H." and refers to its author's having read in a lecture Willson's Civil War poem "The Old Sargeant"; the lecture referred to is Holmes's "Poetry of the War." External evidence of Holmes's authorship of this obituary is given by a letter to James T. Fields in the Huntington Library, dated "Feb. 10" and headed with the Charles Street address; here Holmes hopes that someone will do a notice of Willson and hints that he wants to do it himself. By itself the letter suggests that an *Atlantic Monthly* contribution is meant, but a letter to Holmes from John Lothrop Motley, dated March 12, 1867, says: "I am glad that you called my attention to your touching and interesting obituary of Forceyth Wilson [*sic*]". Motley here refers to an acknowledged letter from Holmes of February 16, 1867 (the date of the *Advertiser* notice), the doctor having lost no time in calling attention to what Motley gratifyingly describes as "your weird Rembrandt-like sketch."[20]

Although not here attempting to list minor additions to the Holmes Bibliography such as printed letters not recorded there or new articles about Holmes,[21] we have still to note a recent addition to the Harvard Holmes collection (Houghton Library), an item coming from the estate of Edward Jackson Holmes. Copy number "five" of "To the Eleven Ladies" (1889) is so far unique in having with it, printed on the same plate paper, a single sheet, 8 9/16 x 5⅜ inches, which lists the ladies in the order in which

[20] George William Curtis, ed., *The Correspondence of John Lothrop Motley* (New York, 1889), II, 256. For Holmes's interest in Willson, see *Amiable Autocrat*, pp. 280-281, 287.

[21] One recent article is worth adding to Appendix 10: Boewe, Charles, "Reflex Action in the Novels of Oliver Wendell Holmes." *American Literature*, XXVI (November, 1954), 303-319.

they appear in Holmes's notebook list of them.[22] The slightly narrower width of the sheet (⅛ inch less than the four-page leaflet) suggests that it was designed to be laid between the fold of the leaflet.

Finally, two unusual copies of *The Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table* are deserving of notice. The first (olive green, four-star), which I examined at Goodspeed's Book Shop, has the engraved title-page and generally good type, but both the end-paper advertisements are headed "Works of Permanent Value."[23] The second copy was reported in December 1954 and loaned to me for examination by the owner, Carl Walz of Easthampton, Massachusetts. Mr. Walz's copy of *The Autocrat* is typographically good, has a four-ring binding (pebbled, tan) and the woodcut title-page, but it has plain end-papers. Furthermore, the book is inscribed: "S. O. Lamb | From the Publishers | November 16, 1858"; the word "November" is written over a half-erased word that looks as if it might have been "Monday." Mr. Walz has identified the presentee as Samuel O. Lamb (1821-1908), a prominent citizen of Greenfield, Massachusetts, originally a newspaper editor and owner, and eventually a lawyer (for a time a partner of George T. Davis of the class of '29). Civic-minded and "a great reader," Lamb was one of the incorporators of the Greenfield Library Association.[24] Given his associations and his interest in books, Lamb's receiving the book from the pub-

[22] *A Bibliography*, pp. 224-225. As in Mr. Howe's copy (number two), this leaflet is signed in full at the end of the poem and "five" is added after "Number."

[23] This copy is listed in Goodspeed's Catalogue 476, item 322, p. 13.

[24] Information from a letter to me, February 3, 1955, from Mr. Walz, verified in Francis M. Thompson, *History of Greenfield* (Greenfield, 1904), II, 829-831, 1196-1197 *et passim*. The Greenfield historian puts Lamb in Boston in 1858 when he states that Lamb served as private secretary to the collector of the port of Boston, General James Whitney, between 1857 and 1861, but a visit to the Customs House in Boston disclosed that General Whitney's term of office was significantly brief: he served for thirty days in March 1861.

Here we may correct a typographical error in the *Bibliography*, p. 71. In the list of captions for the illustrations in *The Autocrat*, "Benj. Franklin" should be "Our Benj. Franklin."

lishers, who perhaps used plain end-papers for presentation copies, is not unlikely. Both these copies of *The Autocrat* warn all bibliographers not to draw inferences of priority from advertising end-papers.

Private Libraries in Frontier St. Louis*

By John Francis McDermott

I

TIMOTHY Flint one hundred and forty years ago declared that Missourians were not a reading people. "Few good books," he said, "are brought into the country. . . . the people are too busy, too much occupied in making farms and speculations, to think of literature." But the Reverend Mr. Flint, though his *Recollections of Ten Years in the Valley of the Mississippi* remains one of the most interesting commentaries on the early West, could have formed at that time only a hasty impression of the reading habits of St. Louisans, for, in his own words, "the view of the wickedness of the place threw such a continual gloom over [his] mind" that he soon removed to St. Charles, Missouri.[1] Had he remained in St. Louis he must have changed his opinion about books and libraries in the frontier metropolis.

In fact, quite the opposite was true. William Blane, an English visitor to St. Louis in the fall of 1822, was much nearer the right answer when he commented on the rapidity with which "literary knowledge" spread itself even out here on the threshold of savage life. To his pleased surprise he found that "several gentlemen of St. Louis and its vicinity, with whom I became acquainted, had not only read all the first Waverley novels, but even the last one, the Fortunes of Nigel, which had only been published a short time before I left England. One of the gentlemen informed me, that he received copies of the novels by

* Read at the meeting of the Society in Chicago, Ill., May 13, 1955.

[1] *Recollections of the Last Ten Years in the Valley of the Mississippi* (Boston, 1826), 185; Timothy Flint to Abel Flint (Missionary Society of Connecticut), St. Charles, Missouri, October 10, 1816 (transcript, Missouri Historical Society).

mail, about two months after their publication in England."[2]

The evidence was everywhere about for Flint or Blane or anyone else interested to observe it. The newspapers in any year filled a considerable portion of their news columns with "literary intelligence." In the year of Blane's visit there was many a story in the St. Louis *Missouri Republican* about Scott. A column review of *The Pirate* was reprinted in April from the *London Gazette*. Early in May the editor lifted from the *New York Spectator* an announcement of a new novel by the "Great Unknown" (*The Fortunes of Nigel*). In October reference was made to the forthcoming *Peveril of the Peak*. Late in that month the *Republican* reprinted on the front page a full column review of *The Fortunes of Nigel*—which called forth on November 27 an answer by a St. Louisan, reviewing in his turn "this thirteenth production . . . from the prolific pen of the celebrated Scotch novelist . . . [which] affords to the literary world an additional proof of the inexhaustible resources of the genius, and acquirements, of the great unknown."

Second to Scott at this time came interest in Cooper. The *Republican* of June 19, 1822, was "glad to learn that the author of the popular novel, the Spy, is likely to be more successful in the ways of patronage, than American writers usually are: his profits from two editions are said to amount to two thousand dollars." In July a St. Louisan wrote to this paper to say that *The Spy* "is beyond all question the best American novel which has ever yet seen the light." A literary notice of March 23, 1823, referred to the publication six weeks earlier of *The Pioneers*, and added that on the morning of publication it had sold thirty-five hundred copies. Later that month the *Republican* reprinted several chapters from *The Pioneers*. A week later *The Pilot* was announced as forthcoming, and David Gray was named as the real Harvey Birch; the same issue carried a half-column editorial note on Cooper, principally biographical. Not long after, a clipping from the

[2] *Excursion through the United States and Canada* (London, 1824), 196.

United States Gazette spoke of the enthusiasm of American painters over Cooper's books. Such comments could be considerably multiplied.

But literary reference in this period was not limited to Scott and Cooper. The traveler Blane found that "O'Meara's account of Napoleon was read by almost everyone." The doctor's book was owned by a number of St. Louisans, but many others could have formed some acquaintance with this best-selling non-fiction work from the "copious extracts" that appeared in the columns of the *Republican* in November and December, 1822. "Every body could read with feelings of just indignation," the Englishman declared, "the vexations imposed on the splendid despot, by his mean-spirited despot." Lengthy passages were printed from other contemporary works such as James Hogg's *The Three Perils of Man* and James K. Paulding's *Koningsmarke, the long Finne*. "S" confided to his fellow citizens through the columns of the *Republican* that he had "lately read" two tragedies by Lord Byron, *Sardanapalus* and *The Two Foscari*. The editor reported that Irving's *Bracebridge Hall* had been translated into French. And of course the old favorites *Gil Blas* and *Tristram Shandy* was cited and quoted.[3]

The newspapers, too, make it clear that almost everybody sold books in those days. Drugstores and shoe stores, hardware merchants and confectioners, auctioneers and general merchants carried a stock of the printed word. The *Missouri Gazette* in the summer of 1808 had "a Variety of School books for sale." Major James Bruff of the United States Army, leaving the Territory in September of that year, announced in the paper that he wished to dispose of "a small collection of valuable books and pamphlets on religion, law, physic, sciences, politics, history, military art, works of genius, &c." Jacob Philipson at this time sold not only dry goods and groceries but also German and English Bi-

[3] For more detail see John Francis McDermott, "Best Sellers in Early St. Louis," *School and Society*, XLVII (1938), 673-675.

bles and hymn books. Hunt and Hankinson, merchants, carried a stock of Webster's Spelling Books.

Christian Wilt dealt in general merchandise (that is, in the custom of the day, anything he thought he could sell). In a letter written July 19, 1812, to his uncle and partner, Joseph Hertzog of Philadelphia, Wilt reported that he had "sold Mr. B. the Encyclopedia at $9. the volume." The following year (August 7, 1813) he wrote to his uncle: "I have more Loves labour lost than I shall sell for 50 years in this place." Perhaps this comment was not as damning a reflection on the people of St. Louis as it sounds, for in a letter from Wilt to his brother we discover that Uncle Hertzog's idea of merchandising was to buy large quantities of cheap articles for quick resale—it would be interesting to know how many copies of this play he was trying to dump in St. Louis.

"Children's spelling books, first and second part" formed part of the stock in Dr. Aaron Elliot's drugstore in St. Louis in 1808. Simpson, and Quarles, both doctors, in 1816 likewise carried "a handsome selection of school and miscellaneous Books." The next year they were advertising "The Columbian Harmonist, a collection of sacred music, on a new and improved plan, $1.25 single and 1 dollar the dozen." (This book had been published by Timothy Flint at the Liberty Hall office in Cincinnati the year before.) Dr. Arthur Nelson in 1818 offered for sale "at his Medical and Drug Store, a very extensive collection of Historical, Medical, Law, and Miscellaneous works, Elegantly Bound; Just received from New York . . . with French, Spanish, and English, Classical & School Books." Another druggist, David W. Tuttle, advertised as recent acquisitions, "the new Naval Biography consisting of the memoirs of the most distinguished officers of the American navy and The Pride of Britannia Humbled, or the queen of the ocean unqueened, by American Cock-Boats, by Wm. Cobbett."[4]

[4] If one wanted a library and did not care to buy books, he could always resort to "borrowing." Consider the experience of Dr. H. L. Hoffman, who found it nec-

By 1820 the public sale as a private enterprise was in its full bloom and books often figured in such auctions. Thomas F. Riddick, for example, on April 5, 1820, announced in the *Missouri Gazette* that he had just received and would sell for cash an interesting miscellany of books including Gregory's *Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences*, Walker's *Dictionary*, Duane's *Military Dictionary*, Josephus, *Don Quixote*, the *Arabian Nights*, Pope's *Works*, Herodotus, *Telemachus* (both in French and in English), *Youth's Scientific Library* (6 volumes), a number of medical works, Latin and French-English dictionaries, and "a valuable collection of the best Novels, with a variety of others too numerous to insert." Furthermore, Riddick's advertisement declared, "any books which can be had in the Atlantic States, will be procured promptly on the most reasonable terms whenever ordered, for the use of public or private libraries."

Three more citations will suffice to illustrate the way and the quantity in which books were being sold in this frontier region where people were "too busy to read." Paul and Ingram, general merchants, on January 6, 1821, pushing the sale of "a large assortment of Rose Blankets," also advertised "many Valuable Books, among which are Fielding's Works in 14 vols., superbly bound, Shakespeare's Plays in 17 and 6 vols. with Johnson's and Steeven's Notes, Spectator in 8 and 12 vols. . . . Irish Rebellion,

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essary to advertise in the *Enquirer* (December 14, 1822): "Persons having any of the following books belonging to me will confer a favor by returning them forthwith.

1st vol. Burns Poems (elegantly bound)
3d vol. Spectator
6th vol. English Comedy
Thompson, (Elegant)
Homer's Odessey
Scott's Poems
2 volumes Montagues' Works."

This appeal was not entirely successful. On March 22, 1823, he inserted another advertisement which should have put the borrowers in their place. "The person or persons who took from my Library, or have now in their possession, the 1st and 2nd volumes of Burns Works and the 5th volume of the English Comedy, belonging to me, if they deem it more *honorable* to keep than return them, by calling, shall be presented with the remaining volumes, as a broken set can be of little use to either of us." The notice was still running on April 19.

Campaign in Russia, War in Spain and France, Life of Buonaparte, American Revolution, Brackenridge's View of Louisiana, Travels in Louisiana (in French), with a variety of other books." J. J. Lacroze & Company, "confectioners and cordial distillers," on April 4, 1821, informed the public that they would raffle off Gregory's *Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences*, Johnson's *Dictionary*, the *Agricultural Dictionary*, Webster's *Universal Gazetteer*, and "several other much admired books." J. J. Smith and Company, who dealt in hardware, spices, wines, shoes, medicine, and numerous other kinds of goods, on May 8, 1822, advertised in the *Republican* the receipt of "1000 books—history, poetry, classicks, religious, school, romance and novel."[5]

In 1820 the first bookstore (that is, a store limiting its activities to bookselling, bookbinding, and stationery) was opened in St. Louis. An advertisement in the *St. Louis Enquirer* on May 12, 1821, illustrated well the extensive stock of books offered at Philadelphia prices "with the addition of carriage." Shakespeare, Addison, Swift, Goldsmith, Hannah More, Scott, Burns, the *Spectator*, and Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, for those inclined to literature. For other readers history, travel, biography, and memoirs that ran from Herodotus and the *Memoirs* of the Cardinal de Retz and Gibbon's *Rome* to Marshall's *Life of Washington*, Edwards' *West Indies*, Latrobe's *Visit to S. Africa*, and *Lewis & Clark's Expedition*. From this time on there was to be always one or two bookstores advertising extensively in the local papers.[6]

Not only were books offered for sale in frontier St. Louis but there were also considerable libraries available to the public. An

[5] For more detail see John Francis McDermott, "Everybody Sold Books in Early St. Louis," *Publishers' Weekly*, CXXXII (July 24, 1937), 248-250.

[6] John Francis McDermott, "The First Bookstore in Saint Louis," *Mid-America*, XXI (1939), 206-208. In the following years many other bookstore advertisements could be cited: I call attention only to a series of lists offered by J. C. Dinnies & Co. in the *Missouri Saturday News*, February 1, March 7, April 18, May 2, July 4, 1840, each about one column in length (approximately twenty-four inches) where one finds, among a great many authors, Paul de Kock, Harriet Martineau, Mrs. Jameson, Dickens, G. P. R. James, Bulwer, Marryat, Theodore Hook, Sam Slick, H. R. Schoolcraft, Henry Tuckerman, Walter Savage Landor.

abortive attempt had been made in 1811 to establish a subscription library in the town, and a second try in 1819-1820 was likewise unsuccessful. But in 1823 a group of St. Louisans took hold of the idea, and the St. Louis Library Association a year later had on its shelves 1,106 volumes. By 1839 its volumes numbered more than 3,000.[7]

In addition to the collections of the St. Louis Library Association in the third and fourth decades of the century there was also available to the citizens a considerable library at St. Louis University. It is probable that the foundation of this library was in donations from Bishop Dubourg on his departure from St. Louis. John H. Paxton in *The St. Louis Directory for 1821* noted that the Bishop possessed "a very elegant and valuable Library, containing about 8000 volumes, and which is without doubt, the most complete, scientific and literary repertory of the western country, if not of the western world. Though it is not public, there is no doubt but the man of science, the antiquary, and the linguist, will obtain a ready access to it." With one exception the contents of this library remain unknown to us: the Bishop did have a set of Diderot's *Encyclopédie*.[8]

Since the St. Louis College was established in 1818 under the

[7] For a full account see John Francis McDermott, "Public Libraries in St. Louis, 1811-1839," *Library Quarterly*, XIV (1944), 9-27.

[8] "Bishop Dubourg, whom I have often visited during my residence in this place, received me one day in his library, which contains besides theological works, many books of science and belles lettres. I remarked a perfect set of the French *Encyclopédie*, and complimented the Bishop upon it, and expressed my surprise that he should have been able to purchase this work so complete in this country. The worthy man related with a smile how he acquired it. As he was travelling through Flanders in 1816 and 1817, in company with the Bishop Prince de Broglio, he formed an acquaintance with a gentleman and his daughter, well known for their bigotry. The latter, a great admirer of books, told him confidingly, that she experienced great scruples on account of keeping in her library the Encyclopédie, in which so many wicked things were contained in opposition to the church. She inquired of him whether she had not better throw this shocking book into the fire? He himself being a great book fancier, and having observed that the work was complete, forbid this pious proceeding, and told her that if she would commit it to his custody, he would provide against its proving prejudicial. In this manner he saved this expensive work from destruction, and thereby enriched his own library" (Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, *Travels through North America*, 2 volumes, Philadelphia, 1828, II, 83-84). The author met the Bishop in New Orleans in February or March, 1826.

patronage of the Bishop, it is not unreasonable to assume that he gave then or at his departure for France in 1826 many works to the library of the school. No records exist to substantiate this surmise. We do know, however, that in 1836 St. Louis University, created from the College in 1829, had a library of at least 1,200 volumes. These, according to Edmund Flagg, were "mostly in the French language. The *Universal Geography* of Braviara, a valuable work of eleven folios, brilliantly illuminated, and the *Actae Sanctorum*, an enormous work of *forty-two* folio volumes, chiefly attract the visiter's attention." A manuscript catalogue of books in the library begun in 1836 and continued to 1842 shows a total of 2,057 volumes for that period. Among the four hundred volumes of English literature appear all the standard names from Shakespeare through Byron, Shelley, and Keats.[9]

These are some of the evidences, then, that many good books *were* brought into the western country.[10] It will be even more illuminating of the taste for literature to see what individual St. Louisans kept on their private bookshelves.

[9] Edmund Flagg, *The Far West* (R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels*, Cleveland, 1906, Vols. XXVI-XXVII), XXVI, 169-170; "Catalogue of Books in the Library of Saint Louis University, 1836" (ms., Archives, Saint Louis University). An account of this library appeared in the Saint Louis University *Varsity Breeze*, February 1, 1928.

[10] Flint, of course, had slandered the people of this frontier city. Why, even the pigs could read in St. Louis. I cite one advertised in the *Missouri Republican*, August 27, 1823:

SEEING IS BELIEVING
THE LEARNED PIG

To be seen at the stone house opposite Col Easton's former residence, third street, From 9 o'clock in the morning until 9 in the evening.

As the sagacity of this little animal is too well known to need any vain puffing or illusive advertisement, the proprietor will only state what the Pig actually performs, viz.

He reads both printing or writing, spells, tells the time of day both hours and minutes by any person['s] watch in the company, distinguishes colours, tells how many persons are present ladies or gentlemen, and to the astonishment of every spectator will add, subtract, multiply and divide, & to conclude, any gentleman may draw a card from a pack and keep it concealed and the pig without hesitation will discover the card drawn.

Admittance 25 cents.

II

When St. John de Crèvecoeur visited St. Louis in June, 1767, he was surprised and interested to find books in this most remote of towns. Although he gave no detail, undoubtedly he referred to the library of Pierre LaClède, the founder and principal citizen. It must indeed have been little short of astounding to find in a three-year-old French village of forty families out on the farthest frontier, twelve hundred miles (ninety days) from New Orleans, Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse* and *Contrat Social,* Bacon's *Essays,* Thomas Corneille's *Dictionnaire des Arts,* Rollin's histories, Descartes, John Locke, the *Dictionnaire de l'Academie française,* Mirabeau's *Theorie de l'Impot,* and nearly two hundred other books on commerce, finance, law, the marine, the military, medicine, agriculture, electricity, travels, memoirs, and other subjects.

Besides LaClède's there were a number of other private libraries of record in the colonial years. At least fifty-six persons who settled in St. Louis before 1800 were owners of books. It is not unreasonable to assume that there were in private libraries there before the Louisiana Purchase something between two and three thousand volumes. When one considers that there were only six hundred and sixty-nine white persons of all ages in the town, the per capita ratio will stand very favorable comparison with places considerably larger and of less isolated situation.[11]

With the Louisiana Purchase the character of St. Louis began to change. During the colonial years growth was slow: the one real source of wealth was the fur trade. With the exception of half a dozen Spanish and Italian families the population was French. Of the Americans who had begun entering Upper Louisiana a decade before the Purchase most had settled as farmers in St. Louis County or as miners in the country back of Ste. Gen-

[11] For these libraries see John Francis McDermott, *Private Libraries in Creole Saint Louis* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press [for the Institut Français de Washington], 1938).

evieve. But now a flood set in from the East. With ingress unrestricted Americans poured by the thousand across the Mississippi into Missouri. By 1821 the population of St. Louis had increased to about forty-six hundred with as many more in the county area to the west. By 1842 the city population had risen to sixteen thousand.

People of all classes, professions, and interests came into St. Louis. As the capital of a rapidly developing territory and particularly as one where there were gravely complicated land claims to be settled, St. Louis attracted lawyers; Paxton listed twenty-six members of the bar in his *St. Louis Directory for 1821*. Other professional men were drawn to the town by the opportunities they foresaw there. Where colonial St. Louis had seldom more than one medical man at a time, by 1821 thirteen were practicing medicine. In colonial days Protestants were not allowed to establish churches: the second decade of the nineteenth century saw the arrival of Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, and Episcopalian clergymen, at first as missionaries but soon as resident ministers. By 1834 a Unitarian church was organized—and in the same year an atheist journal was being published. In 1808 the first newspaper was established, the second in 1815, the third in 1820. Many papers had short lives, but during the twenties and thirties there were seldom fewer than three and sometimes as many as six or seven papers published in St. Louis. The increase of population and the greater diversity of business opportunities brought more and more merchants, for St. Louis was the commercial and financial capital of the West.

What did such people read? Newspaper notices, booksellers' lists, public library catalogues all show that books were generally available on the western frontier and presumably in demand. The best index of reading interests, however, is in the books St. Louisans brought with them or bought and kept on their bookshelves. To determine this I have extracted from probate records the lists of thirty-five private libraries between 1811, when the

town had about fourteen hundred people, and 1842, when it had reached some sixteen thousand. It must be kept in mind that this is a sampling only: there were other St. Louisans of French or American stock who had considerable collections of books. The present purpose is to show the kind of reading matter actually owned from the beginning of the American years until the time when the frontier moved two hundred miles to the west.[12]

These libraries, chosen almost by chance, vary in size from nineteen volumes to twelve hundred and reach a total of nearly six thousand. The owners represent something of the complex and cosmopolitan character of St. Louis: they include two Irishmen, one Englishman, one Hollander, three Frenchmen "of France" and two from Pennsylvania, one native son of Virginian stock, and the remainder Americans from New England, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Tennessee, and other states. The estates left by these men were valued from $500 to $200,000. Nine of them were lawyers, one of whom served on the Supreme bench of Missouri; three of the lawyers were killed in duels and one was murdered. Among the other book owners were a doctor, a gentleman-farmer, a confectioner, an auctioneer, a banker, a carpenter, an architect, a Presbyterian minister and school teacher, two men active in the Santa Fe trade, two on the Rocky Mountain and Northwest fur trade (one of whom served in Congress), two Indian agents, a man in the shoe business, two newspapermen, a

[12] The records drawn upon from this point until the close of this paper are manuscripts in the files of the Probate Court of St. Louis. In order to determine what kinds of books were actually owned in St. Louis before 1842 I have limited myself to sampling inventories found in the estates of deceased persons. Obviously, there would be many others, contemporaries of those included here, who owned books in this period, but since they might have acquired after 1842 the titles recorded in their estates, they cannot be cited here. Some of the book owners of French blood have already been presented in my *Private Libraries in Creole Saint Louis*: Auguste Chouteau, for example, whose library Henry Marie Brackenridge declared was "one of the largest private libraries I had ever seen. . . . I spent several hours of the day in examining and perusing this fine collection" (*Recollections of Persons and Places in the West*, Philadelphia, 1868, p. 231). The test group reported, of course, is only a selection; it does not represent the examination of all probate files through 1842, for more than 1,800 probate proceedings had been filed between 1804 and 1842.

governor of Missouri, two army officers (both graduates of West Point), and half-a-dozen merchants. The books of these people offer a reasonable cross-section of the reading tastes of St. Louisans of that time.

The best of the law libraries was that of Edward Hempstead from Connecticut. Of five hundred volumes listed in the inventory made of his estate in 1817, fully half were professional. From an antiquarian point of view perhaps the most interesting title in this lot was an unbound edition, then two hundred years old, of Sir Edward Coke's *Reports*. Among more than one hundred titles of legal works were the laws of Indiana, Missouri, and Illinois territories and of the state of Louisiana. Hempstead had Blackstone, and Coke on Littleton, Bacon's *Abridgements*, East's, Washington's, Vesey's, Addison's, Mumford's, Cranch's, Dallas's and many other volumes of *Reports*, Powell on *Contracts*, Highmore on *Bail*, Chitty on *Pleading*. And with all these a volume entitled *Every Man his Own Lawyer*!

But Hempstead's library illustrates excellently the tendency of the best collections of St. Louisans to be well rounded. We find the records of famous cases of the day: the trials of Burr, Hull, and Thomas H. Cushing. History, biography, memoirs, and travel are well represented by about fifty volumes. His interest in the West is shown by possession of Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*, Brackenridge's *Views of Louisiana*, Stoddard's *Sketches of Louisiana*, Pike's *Voyages*, and Lewis and Clark's *Travels*. His taste did not run strongly to poetry, but a "much worn" twelve-volume set of Shakespeare, *Ossian*, Milton, Butler's *Hudibras*, and *The Seasons* of Thomson show that he was aware of it. Of fiction the chief items were the eternal favorites: *Don Quixote*, *Gil Blas*, and Sterne, and the popular American satire *Modern Chivalry* by Hugh Henry Brackenridge. Malthus on population, a ten-volume set of Voltaire, and a life of John Calvin also had their places in the collection of this staunch Presbyterian. These

are some of the books owned by a man described by Flint as "unlettered but of strong sense."[13]

The libraries of the other lawyers—all smaller than Hempstead's—were much the same in quality but varied somewhat in selection. The books of young James Graham, killed in a duel in 1811, in addition to a small collection of legal works, included a Homer valued at $22, Blair's *Lectures*, the *Federalist*, a four-volume set of Voltaire, and a *Beauties of Shakespeare*. (The principal debts of his estate were $57.25 to Philip Creamer for the pistols that had supported so inadequately his last cause, and $50 to Antoine F. Saugrain, the surgeon who attended him.) Joshua Barton, at his death in 1823, owned a copy of the Napoleonic Code, the Civil Code of Louisiana, and the Spanish colonial Code (*Las Siete Partidas*) in addition to the customary works on a lawyer's shelf. He had Hume and Smollett's *History of England*, Beloe's *Herodotus*, Hume's *Essays*, Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Pitt's *Memoirs*, a number of volumes of speeches, the *Spectator*, and a run of *Niles' Weekly Register*. When Horatio Cozens (killed in 1826) wanted diversion from the law, he could turn to his thirty volumes of Rousseau, to *Jerusalem Delivered*, *Tom Jones*, *Castle Rackrent*, *Roderick Random*, or *Peregrine Pickle*. Abraham Beck in 1821 left a set of the *Spectator* (another general favorite) as well as Gass's *Journal* of the Lewis and Clark expedition, Marshall's *Life of Washington* and a life of Patrick Henry, Shakespeare's works, Machiavelli, Junius, *Burr's Trial*, the recently issued *St. Louis Directory for 1821*, and some numbers of the *Edinburgh Review*. In poetry he favored Pope, Akenside, Tom Moore, and James Hogg.

Dr. Pryor Quarles (1821), in addition to standard medical works by Bell, Bailey, Cullen, Rush, and others, had Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, the works of Goldsmith, Jefferson's *Notes*,

[13] "The first lawyer, when I arrived in the country, was E. H. Esq., a man unlettered, but of strong sense, and it was said by competent judges, a great special pleader" (Flint, *Recollections*, 184).

Shakespeare, Milton, Byron, *Don Quixote* and *Peregrine Pickle*, *The Lady of the Lake* and the *Odyssey* (in English) as well as half-a-dozen titles in Latin (probably school texts).

What a Presbyterian minister-school teacher in the 1820's might choose to own one can discover in the list (1827) of nearly three hundred volumes left by the Reverend Salmon P. Giddings, who spent the last twelve years of his short life preaching and teaching school in St. Louis. Among the many religious titles we find the works of Jonathan Edwards in eight volumes, Butler's *Analogy*, Dwight's *Theology*, *An Account of Princeton Seminary*, and a work entitled *Unitarian Controversy*. As we would expect, there are a number of classical and other school texts. But Mr. Giddings also had the works of Johnson, Young's *Night Thoughts*, and Cowper's *Poems* as well as the widely popular *Ancient History* of Rollin. Perhaps the most locally interesting items in Giddings' list are an *Arithmetic* by René Paul of St. Louis (published in 1823) and the *Travels* (*Recollections* ?) of Timothy Flint as well as the latter's novel *Francis Berrian*.

The books of Irish-born auctioneer Jeremiah Conner, who closed eighteen years of life in St. Louis in 1823, ranged from sermons and the *Old Testament* through *Paradise Lost*, *The Vicar of Wakefield*, the *Dunciad*, and Cook's *Voyages*, to the French naturalist Buffon and a five-volume life of Washington.

William Stokes, a well-to-do Englishman, arrived in St. Louis in 1819 to settle down as a gentleman-farmer "about two miles west of the Jail," as Paxton listed him in the City Directory. He had been involved in the defense of the Duke of York before the House of Commons in 1809, and he was not to have many months of happy life in Missouri, for soon his legal wife appeared and sued him for divorce, the "second" wife whom he had brought with him died or committed suicide, and he himself died in 1823. Stokes either brought with him or bought in St. Louis a variety of works on agriculture, chemistry, geology, cookery, diseases of cattle, a millwright's guide—publications

suitable to a man living in the country. Aside from such practical books he had for pleasurable reading Pope, the *Arabian Nights*, Sully's *Memoirs*, Addison, *Knickerbocker's History of New York*, Melish's *Travels*, the *Western Gazetteer*, Bacon's *Essays*. Apparently he subscribed not merely to the St. Louis papers (*Missouri Gazette* and *Enquirer*) but also to *Niles Weekly Register* and the Washington *National Intelligencer*.

Frederick Bates, one of the first governors of Missouri, and from 1807 until his death in 1825 an important figure in St. Louis affairs, had a "mind richly stored with literature," Henry Marie Brackenridge reported in his *Recollections of Persons and Places in the West*.[14] In 1810-1811 the book-hungry young lawyer from Pennsylvania had had the run of Bates's "extensive library." No doubt he then read many of the books listed in the inventory of 1825. Among them were Locke's *On the Human Understanding* and Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Gibbon's *Rome* and Robertson's *Scotland* and his *History of America*, Hume and Smollett's *England*, Condorcet's *Progress of the Human Mind*, Morse's *Universal Geography*, Josephus, Godwin's *Essays*, Plutarch, the *Spectator*, Volney's *Travels* and *Ruins*. But of all reading he seems to have preferred poetry. Not only do we find the usual favorites (Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, Young, Thomson) but also Dryden's *Virgil*, *Hudibras*, Moore's *Anacreon*, Burns, Prior, Gray, Rochester, Collins, Beattie, and a dozen other poets of the eighteenth century as well as Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* and Barlow's *Vision of Columbus* (I wonder: did he have the strength to read this patriotic American epic?). In fiction Bates owned *Tom Jones*, *Roderick Random*, *Don Quixote*, *Gil Blas*, *Chrysal*, and Hannah More's popular *Coelebs in Search of a Wife*.

John Ward in 1818, then in partnership with a man named Kimball, opened a "Reading Room and Punch House" in St. Louis: at their bar, it was promised, the dry would always find "the most genuine liquors" and those thirsty for news would

[14] P. 232.

find "newspapers and other literary productions . . . from various parts of the Union." What the literary fare consisted of, the advertisement in the *Missouri Gazette* did not specify, but a John Ward (very likely the same man) who died eight years later apparently read *Pike's Expedition*, lives of Frederick the Great, Charles V, and Washington, Maria Edgeworth's *Tales*, *Tails* [*sic!*] *of the Landlord*, and a volume alluringly entitled *Harriet's Struggles*.

The one Hollander in this group of book owners was Arends Rutgers, who was settled in St. Louis in 1803 and died there thirty-four years later. His considerable collection of books was divided almost evenly among the Dutch, French, and English languages. The first of these tongues was represented principally by works of history, biography, divinity, and travel literature. In French there was a fifty-two-volume encyclopedia, a number of the best French dramatists, and the English poets Pope and Young. In English the most interesting item was a forty-six-volume lot of Walter Scott's novels.

The largest library in this group was that of John Mullanphy, who came from Ireland to America by way of France in 1794 and to St. Louis ten years later. His twelve hundred volumes were an ably balanced selection of history, classics, *belles lettres*, science, law, medicine, and travels of which a considerable proportion was in French. He was another reader of Scott: at his death in 1833 he owned a forty-nine-volume set of the Waverley novels. Mullanphy must indeed have been a well-read merchant if he was familiar with the books in his house.

Wilson Price Hunt (1842), who led the Astoria overland expedition in 1811, owned a copy of the travels of Gabriel Franchere, his colleague in the Northwest, and William Clark (1838) owned two copies of the *Travels of Lewis and Clark*. Thomas Forsythe, for a number of years an Indian agent for the United States, had among other books (1835) Flint's *Narrative of the Indian Wars*, McKenney's *Tour to the Lakes* (its author had been

head of the Office of Indian Affairs), and Brackenridge's *History of the War of 1812*, as well as Boswell, Goldsmith, Tom Moore, Junius, a life of Andrew Jackson, Cook's *Voyages*, and LeSage's *Devil on Two Sticks*. William Ashley, once a leader in the Rocky Mountain fur trade and later a member of Congress, left in 1838 a large quantity of American State Papers and Congressional documents; he also owned Alphonso Wetmore's *Gazetteer of Missouri*, published in St. Louis in 1837, Irving's *Astoria*, Shakespeare, Jefferson, and other common favorites.

Jedediah Smith, whose life and writings have lately come to the fore, owned (1831) books as diversified as *The Seaman's Daily Assistant*, Josephus, a *History of Mexico*, one of ancient Greece, and several works of theology. The most interesting item in his "library," however, was a work in his own hand entitled "A Manuscript Journal of the Travels of Jedediah S. Smith through the Rocky Mountains & West of the same together with a description of the Country, Customs & Manners of different Tribes of Indians thru which he travelled &c." His appraisers thought well of it, too, for they valued it at $2,000. Not so fortunate was a manuscript by a Frenchman named Louis De Thiers who had some connection with the Santa Fe trade: his *Journal d'un voyage aux Etats Unis* was valued at six and one-quarter cents in January, 1830.

Jean Sarrade, confectioner, who died in 1827 after a decade or more in St. Louis, appropriately enough owned the *Confiseur Moderne*, *L'Art Distillateur*, and *Chymie du Gout*. Did *Le Sopha* and *Les Egarements du Coeur* of Crébillon *fils* go properly with these? What of *La Prusse Galante* and *La France Galante?* Beside these Sarrade had also Brackenridge's *Louisiana* and an account of Lafayette's visit to America (both possibly for their St. Louis associations) and the *Conference D'Angers*. John Laveille, an architect hailing from Pennsylvania, died in St. Louis in 1842 after twenty-one years of practice there. More than fifty of his volumes were professional books; a wide assortment of stand-

ard literature, history, and memoirs included such titles as *Pickwick Papers*, some of Marryat's works, and Basil Hall's *Travels*. William McRee, class of 1805 at West Point, who left the army and came out to St. Louis as a United States Surveyor in 1825 to die there of cholera in 1833, owned one hundred and eighty-two books in French, of which seventy-three were on military subjects, and eighty-two in English that ranged through practical subjects such as Forsyth's manual on fruit trees and Gibson's *Surveying*, a *Pomological Manual* and *Elements of Chemistry*, but included as well Cobbett's *Year in America* and the *Mémoires* of Napoleon. John Smith G (from Georgia), banker, when off duty could indulge in the *Christian in Armour*, *Gulzara*, *Princess of Persia*, *A View of all Religions*, *The Vicar of Wakefield*, Witherspoon on *The Stage*, and *Pilgrim's Progress*, among other varied choices (1834).

Isaac N. Henry at the time of his death in 1821 was editor of the *St. Louis Enquirer*. A newspaperman on the frontier then apparently read the *Spectator*, works of *Elegant Extracts*, Humboldt's *New Spain*, Irving's *Salmagundi* and *Knickerbocker's History of New York*, the poems of Burns, the tales of Edgeworth, lives of Franklin and Washington, Chateaubriand's *Recollections*, Scott's *Lady of the Lake*. Another newspaper editor, William Preston Clark, son of the general, man about town, shareholder in the theatre and part owner of Dinnies' bookstore, in 1840 left nearly seven hundred books among which we find *Nicholas Nickleby*, Beltrami's *Pilgrimage*, Ellis's *Polynesian Researches*, James Hall's *Legends of the West*, Irving's *Crayon Miscellany*, Hoffman's *Winter in the West*, Poe's *Tales of the Grotesque*, Peck's *Gazetteer*, Molière's works, *Scottish Chiefs*, Ovid's *Art of Love*, *Paul and Virginia*, *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, *Ossian*, Hoyle's *Games*, *The Southern & Western Songster*, the *Memoirs* of Canning, and Ward's *History of the Hindoos*. In addition he had files of about thirty periodicals ranging from *The American Turf Register* to the *Transactions* of the American Philosophical Society, from

the *American Ladies' Magazine* to *Blackwood's* and the *Western Monthly Magazine* edited by Timothy Flint in Cincinnati.

Some of the book owners in my files have been slighted in this paper, and but few of the many varied titles have been mentioned. But what I have cited will show that St. Louisans in the early decades of the nineteenth century had books in plenty and were quite aware of the world of science, of literature, of thought; were quite familiar with the best and with the latest in history, travel, and biography.

Father Louis Hennepin: His Travels and His Books

By A. H. Greenly

FATHER Louis Hennepin was probably born at Ath in Hainaut, Belgium, about 1640, although Margry claimed to have documentary evidence that he was born at Roy. He became a member of the Recollect order of Franciscan monks. In response to an appeal from the Count de Frontenac, the governor of New France, King Louis XIV ordered five Recollect priests sent to Canada, among whom was Hennepin. On the same ship with him was Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, to whom Louis XIV, on May 13, 1675, granted Fort Frontenac and whose vanity he gratified with a patent of nobility. There was also on the ship Mgr. Francis de Laval, who became the first Bishop of Quebec. A number of girls were on board, sent to settle in Canada. Hennepin found it necessary to reprimand their hilarity while dancing at night, which he said prevented the sailors from getting their rest! This displeased La Salle, and Hennepin blames this episode for an enduring hostility which La Salle had toward Hennepin thereafter. The ship arrived at Quebec in September, 1675. During the winter of 1676-1677, while at Fort Frontenac, Hennepin visited all the principal villages of the Iroquois in company with La Motte for the purpose of securing the concurrence of the Iroquois in the French plan for western exploration.

In September, 1678, La Salle returned from France with orders for Hennepin to accompany him on his exploration of the Mississippi River. Hennepin was sent on ahead with two voyageurs to man his birch bark canoe. They arrived at Fort Fronte-

nac on November 2. Six days later, La Motte de Lussière, one of La Salle's lieutenants, arrived at the fort with the majority of the party, leaving La Salle and his chief ally, Henri de Tonty, in Quebec, to follow a month later. La Motte brought orders to dispatch an advance party to notify the Indians of the expedition and to win their friendship. La Motte and Hennepin, with sixteen men, set out on November 18 for Niagara, where they did not arrive until December 6, due to tempestuous weather. La Salle and Tonty followed later in the month, and on the way visited a large town of the Senecas, who reluctantly consented to La Salle's transporting his supplies by the portage path around Niagara Falls, and to the building of a vessel above the falls. La Motte, in ill-health, returned to Fort Frontenac, and Tonty proceeded with the building of a ship, the *Griffin,* at the mouth of what is now Cayuga Creek. The Indians became apprehensive as the building of the ship progressed, and threatened to burn it before it was launched. But, after diligent guarding, the ship was finished and launched, and all members of the expedition moved onto it. Tonty disliked Hennepin probably because of La Salle's dislike of him. Hennepin says he was jealous "because I kept a Journal of all the considerable things that were transacted; and that he designed to take the same from me. This advice oblig'd me to stand upon my guard, and take all other precautions, to secure my observations." It is fortunate that Tonty did not succeed in his plan, for from Hennepin's journal came the first description and illustration of Niagara Falls, also much concerning La Salle's enterprises and the life and manners of the Indians at the time of their first contact with white men.

The *Griffin* with La Salle aboard sailed August 7, 1679. Tonty, who had been sent forward to find out about the fifteen men whom La Salle had sent to trade for him and to go thence to the Illinois, was overtaken at the Detroit. After weathering a furious storm on Lake Huron, the ship anchored at St. Ignace. Most of the advance party of fifteen had been seduced from their duty.

Four were found at Michilimackinac, and Tonty was sent to Sault Ste. Marie, where two others were captured. Early in September, the *Griffin* weighed anchor and sailed westward into Lake Michigan, landing at one of the islands at the entrance to Green Bay.[1] Here La Salle found a staunch friend in a Pottawottamie chief, and also found several more of his advance party, who had remained faithful and collected a large store of furs. La Salle, despite the protests of his followers, decided to send the *Griffin* back laden with furs to satisfy his creditors, who had seized all of La Salle's property—even his secretary's bed. The *Griffin* sailed September 18, 1679, and that is the last ever heard of her. A violent storm arose the first night, and from either the incompetency or treachery of the pilot, the ship was wrecked probably after passing Mackinac. There were no survivors.

Delayed by storms, lack of food and unfriendly Indians, La Salle's party continued down the west shore of Lake Michigan, circling around the southern end to the mouth of the St. Joseph river, called by him the Miamis. Here Tonty and twenty men, who had coasted the eastern shore of the lake, were to have met La Salle. They were not there, nor was there any news of the *Griffin*. After about twenty days, during which La Salle had set his men to work building a fort on a rise of ground at the mouth of the river, Tonty appeared. Sending two men back to Mackinac to guide the *Griffin* to the fort of the Miamis, La Salle started up the St. Joseph river on December 3, 1679, with a party of thirty-three in eight canoes. They portaged at South Bend to the Kankakee river. Descending it and the Illinois, they arrived at the large Indian village near the present site of Utica, Illinois, which they found deserted, the Indians all being absent on the winter's hunt. As La Salle's men were in desperate need of food, he helped himself to corn from their caches, hoping to appease the Indians by presents on their return. Further down the river, they met the Indians, who responded to La Salle's friendly ad-

[1] Washington Island.

vances. On a high promontory in the vicinity (Starved Rock), he erected a palisaded defense which he called Fort Crêvecoeur. Still no news had been received of the fate of the *Griffin*.

To continue his explorations it was necessary to have a good-sized boat which La Salle intended to build here at Fort Crêvecoeur, but for which he lacked many essential materials, and so he determined to return to Fort Frontenac to obtain them. With an Indian hunter, he and four Frenchmen left Fort Crêvecoeur on March 1, 1680, on a dangerous journey of about a thousand miles by land and water, which consumed sixty-five days. Instead of going around the lakes by canoe, they walked across southern Michigan from the southern end of Lake Michigan to Lake Erie. In 1680, that was unexplored country, occupied by nothing but Indians and wild animals—or perhaps I should say by wild animals including Indians. Having reached Fort Frontenac and obtained necessary supplies, La Salle set out to rejoin Tonty at Fort Crêvecoeur.

The official account of La Salle's first voyage is given at length in the *Relation des Découvertes et des Voyages du Sieur de la Salle, Seigneur et Gouverneur du Fort de Frontenac, au delà grands Lacs de la Nouvelle France, faits par ordre de Monseigneur Colbert, 1679-1681*. This valuable document was compiled early in the year 1682 from La Salle's letters and diaries. It was known to Hennepin, and when writing his first book (1683), he appropriated many passages from it. The document above referred to was published in French in *Voyages des Français sur les Grands Lacs et Découverte de l'Ohio et du Mississippi (1614-1684)*, by Pierre Margry, which is Volume 1 of his *Découvertes et Établissements des Francais dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale (1614-1754)*. This document was translated by Melville B. Anderson and published by The Caxton Club, Chicago, in 1901, as *Relation of the Discoveries and Voyages of Cavelier de La Salle from 1679 to 1681. The Official Narrative.*

La Salle must have been a remarkable man. It is to be regret-

ted that he himself never wrote the story of his voyages for publication. This was probably due to his intense activity. Never was a man more thwarted in his plans, nor so unfortunate and still so persistent in their execution. The physical difficulties he endured are appalling, and his financial losses staggering for that time. His fortitude was amazing. He staked everything he had on his first voyage. The loss of his ship, the *Griffin*, cost him about 40,000 francs (about $8,000); the ship *St. Peter*, lost in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, carried goods which had been sent to him to the value of 20,000 francs; his men at Fort Crêvecoeur who deserted destroyed many thousands of francs worth of property. These deserters also destroyed the fort at the mouth of the St. Joseph river in Michigan and appropriated peltries left at Michilimackinac, selling them for their own profit. Not only were his monetary losses very great, but his men deserted him, threatened to kill him, and finally did kill him.

To return to Hennepin (whom we left at Fort Crêvecoeur). Before leaving for Fort Frontenac, La Salle had arranged for Hennepin to explore, while La Salle was absent, the Illinois river to its confluence with the Mississippi, and to trade with the Indians. Hennepin at first demurred, claiming it was necessary for him to return to Canada for treatment of diseased gums. He tried to induce Fathers Ribourde and Membré to go in his stead, but was unsuccessful, and must needs go himself. So, on February 29, 1680, the day before La Salle set out for Fort Frontenac, Hennepin departed from Fort Crêvecoeur with two men, Michael Accou, who was nominally in charge, and Antoine Auguel, who was known as Picard du Gay. The canoe was well laden with gifts for the Indians, supplied by La Salle; "and, in fact," observes Hennepin in the 1683 edition, "he is liberal enough towards his friends." This commendation of La Salle is suppressed in later editions. On reaching the Mississippi, they turned north, probably more for trading than exploratory purposes. There is ample evidence that they ascended the river, although fourteen

years later, and after La Salle's murder in 1687, Hennepin claimed in his book published in 1697 that he had turned south and explored the Mississippi to the Gulf the year before La Salle descended the river. It is well established that that part of his narrative is pure fabrication.

On his trip to the upper Mississippi, Hennepin visited the Falls of St. Anthony, which he so named in honor of St. Anthony of Padua, his patron saint. Hennepin was the first to describe these falls. He and his two companions were taken prisoners by a band of Sioux in the region of Lake Pepin in April, 1680, and were marched by the Indians to their villages in the Mille Lacs region. As is recorded by Du Luth himself,[2] they were rescued by him and his party of Frenchmen who under conduct of a soldier of La Salle's named Faffart were in the upper Mississippi territory in the interest of Frontenac's fur trade. The Sioux, who held Hennepin and his men, were willing to allow them to leave with Du Luth on the promise of returning with trade goods, which La Salle had evidently promised to send to the mouth of the Wisconsin river. In the early autumn, Du Luth's party with Hennepin and his two men descended the Mississippi. Not finding any supplies at the mouth of the Wisconsin, they all ascended the Wisconsin and descended the Fox to the Jesuit mission at Green Bay, and eventually went to the St. Ignace mission at Mackinac, where they spent the winter enjoying Jesuit hospitality, and Hennepin the society of his fellow-townsman, Father Phillipe Pierson, a Jesuit of that mission.

Hennepin left St. Ignace during Easter week, 1681, and proceeded via the lakes to Niagara and Fort Frontenac, thence to Montreal, where he was cordially received by Frontenac, who entertained him for twelve days in his own home, listening to

[2] Memoir of Sieur Greyselon Du Lhut addressed to Monsieur le Marquis de Seignelay [probably in 1681], published in *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale (1614-1754)*, by Pierre Margry, Vol. 6, page 20; also in *Notes pour servir à l'histoire, à la bibliographie et la cartographie de la Nouvelle France et des pays adjacents, 1545-1700*, by Henry Harrisse, page 177.

Hennepin's yarns—truth and fiction. Hennepin then went to Quebec, whence he sailed for Europe, probably in the fall of 1681. The next year he spent at St. Germain-en-Laye, where he probably wrote his first book, *Description de la Louisiane.*

Hennepin certainly lacked the spiritual qualities of a priest. He was possessed by a passion for travel and adventure. By his conceit and aggressiveness, he alienated his ecclesiastical associates, and buffeted about, finally landed in England, where he succeeded in having an English edition of his book published. He evidently gained the good graces of Mr. Blaithwayt, Secretary of War to William III, the same man who later befriended Lahontan. Hennepin was strong and fearless, a natural explorer. He no doubt had a fierce temper, which tended further to alienate him from his companions. That he was a conceited braggart is well attested by his books, as well as letters of the time. Hennepin was last heard of in a letter written from Rome, March 1, 1701, by Dubos, who mentions him, now in his sixty-first or sixty-second year, in a convent there. It is not known when or where he died.

So much for the man; now for a look at his books, at least the principal editions. His books, like those of Lahontan later, were widely read; there were many editions in various languages. Hennepin was not only a first-rate liar like Lahontan, but he was the arch-plagiarist of all time. Were these the necessary qualifications for a successful author in those days? The French would not countenance the publication of such books in France, as is evidenced by the fact that only the first of Hennepin's books, which is fairly reliable, was published in Paris, and none of Lahontan's original editions was published in France.

A bibliographical description of Hennepin's first book, 1683, follows:

1683 French

DESCRIPTION | DE LA | LOUISANE, | NOUVELLEMENT DECOUVERTE | au Sud'Oüest de la Nouvelle France, |

PAR ORDRE DU ROY. | *Avec la Carte du Pays: Les Moeurs* | *& la Maniere de vivre* | *des Sauvages.* | DEDIE'E A SA MAJESTE' | Par le R. P. Louis HENNEPIN, | *Missionaire Recollet &* | *Notaire Apostolique.* | [large monogram AA] | A PARIS, | Chez la Veuve SEBASTIEN HURE', ruë | Saint Jacques, à l'Image S. Jerôme, | prés S. Severin. | [line] | M. DC. LXXXIII. | *AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.* |

Collation: 16mo; title, verso blank; Dedication "Au Roy," pp. [8]; Privilege, pp. [2]; "Description de la Louisiane," pp. 1-312; "Les Moeurs des Sauvages," part 2, pp. 1-107; verso of p. 107 blank. No mispaging. The monogram AA on the title page is the monogram of Amable Auroy.

Plates: Fld. map printed on paper watermarked with a bunch of grapes, facing title page, "Carte | de la | Nouvelle France | et de la | Louisiane | Nouuellement decouuerte | dediée | Au Roy | l'An 1683. | Par le Reuerend Pere | Louis Hennepin | Missionaire Recollect | et Notaire Apostolique" | by N. Guerard. 47.2 x 29 cm.

Signatures: ã and *I* (the first and last) in sixes; A, C, E, G, I, L, N, P, R, T, X, Z, Bb, *A, C, E,* and *G* in eights; B, D, F, H, K, M, O, Q, S, V, Y, Aa, Cc, *B, D, F,* and *H* in fours. Signature E4 is numbered Biiij. Signatures C_1 and C_2 are numbered B_1 and B_2 respectively.

There are copies of the original 1683 edition in which the date of imprint has been changed to M. DC. LXXXIIII by the addition of a fourth Roman numeral one (I), imprinted rather crudely from a type, but the figure is slightly taller than the original figures and, by the imperfect spacing, indicates it was added.

1684 French

There was also, in 1684, a reissue of the original sheets with a new title page reading the same as the original 1683 title page except the imprint, which is as follows: A PARIS, | Chez AMABLE AUROY, rüe | Saint Jacques, à | l'Image S. Jerôme, | Proche la fontaine S. Severin. | [line] | M. DC. LXXXIV. | *Avec Privilege, du Roy.* |

The spacing between lines on the title page is slightly different than on the 1683 title page, but it is obviously printed from the same fonts of type.

"The publisher had married the widow of Huré, and it is a curious fact that the monogram of Amable Auroy occurs on the title pages of both issues, notwithstanding the disparity of the imprints" (Paltsits).

The 1684 edition was a reissue of the original 1683 sheets with an entirely new title page. The 1683 and 1684 editions contain two distinct parts, (1) "Description," 312 pp., and (2) "Les Moeurs des Sauvages," 107 pp.

There was also an entirely new edition in French in 1688, published in Paris by Amable Auroy, evidently set up from one of the earlier editions, but, notwithstanding typographical changes, the same book as the 1683 and 1684 editions.

I think it is generally conceded that, allowing for Hennepin's egotism and occasional exaggerations, the 1683 edition and also those of 1684 and 1688 are fairly truthful, and contain an account of Hennepin's actual experiences. An interesting fact to note is that on the maps in the 1683 and 1684 editions the Mississippi River fails to reach the Gulf although there is a dotted line to indicate that it probably did reach it. On both maps in the 1697 edition, the Mississippi is shown in considerable detail as reaching the Gulf, although much too far west. The royal privilege for printing the 1683 edition was given September 3, 1682, to the widow of Sebastien Huré, late bookseller at Paris. It was registered in the book of the Community of Booksellers and Printers of Paris, September 10, 1682. The printing of the 1683 edition was completed January 5, 1683. Before Hennepin's next book after the 1688 edition was published in 1697, there were translations into Italian, Dutch and German. The first English translation of the 1683 edition was published about 200 years later in New York in 1880, by John G. Shea.

Now comes the *pièce de résistance*, the 1697 French edition. In it Hennepin overstepped all bounds of propriety. A book that goes further in untruth and plagiary would be hard to find. Here is its bibliographical description, which looks innocent enough:

1697 French

NOUVELLE | DECOUVERTE | D'UN TRES GRAND | PAYS | Situé dans l'Amerique, | ENTRE | *Le Nouveau Mexique*, | ET | La Mer Glaciale, | Avec les Cartes, & les Figures necessaires, & de plus | l'Histoire Naturelle & Morale, & les avantages, | qu'on en peut tirer par l'etablissement des Colonies. | LE TOUT DEDIE | à | Sa Majesté Britannique. | GUILLAUME III. | PAR LE | R. P. LOUIS

HENNEPIN, | Missionaire Recollect & Notaire Apostolique. | A UTRECHT, | [line] | Chez GUILLAUME BROEDELET, | Marchand Libraire. MDCXCVII. |

Collation: 18mo; title, verso blank; Dedication "Au Roy de la Grande Bretagne," pp. [23]; "Avis au Lecteur," pp. [26]; "Table des Chapitres," pp. [19]; "Nouvelle Decouverte" text, pp. 1-506. Page 313 is repeated ten times.

Plates: An engraved frontispiece or extra title page: Nouvelle Decouverte | d'un tres grand | Pays | Situé dans L'Amerique | Par R. P. Louis de Hennepin. | A Utrec | Chez Guiliaume Broedelet. |

At p. 1: 2 fld. maps, described below.

At p. 44: and so engraved: fld. plate, view of Niagara Falls. This is the first picture of Niagara Falls ever published. No engraver's name is shown.

At p. 187, and so engraved: fld. plate, picture of a buffalo. This is one of the earliest pictures of the buffalo. No engraver's name is shown.

Signatures: *, **, and *** in twelves; A to N, except J, in twelves; O* (with binder's instructions "Ces fuellets doivent s'inferer entre N. & O.") in five; O to T, and V and X in twelves; Y in one. Signature Q_4 is numbered Q_7.

Descriptions of maps: (1) Carte | d'un tres grand | Pays | entre le | Nouveau Mexique | et la | Mer Glacjale | Dediée a | Guiliaume III ^{E} | Roy de la Grand Bretagne | Par le R. P. | Louis de Hennepin | Mission: Recol: et Not: Apost: | Chez G. Broedelet | a Utreght | by F R Trarce (?) del et fect. 51.9 x 42.9 cm.

(2) Carte | d'un tres grand pais | Nouvellement découvert | dans | L'Amerique Septentrionale | entre le | Nouveau Mexique et la | Mer Glaciale | avec le Cours du Grand Fleuve | Meschasipi | Dediée a | Guiliaume III^{E} | Roy de la Grand Bretagne | Par le R. P. | Louis de Hennepin | Mission: Recoll: et Not: Apost: | Chez G. Broedelet | a Utreght. | No engraver shown. 43.8 x 37.2 cm.

Victor Hugo Paltsits writes: "There has been some speculation by Shea and others as to whether certain parts of the volume were printed in another printing-office and with different type from that of the first 312 and ten star pages. We find the paper alike throughout. The change in the heading after p. 313 is also paralleled at intervals in the pages before p. 313, e.g. pp. 28-40, 66, 78-88, etc. This vagary has no special significance. Chapters 45-76 have their numbering printed in Arabic, while the preceding forty-four chapters were given in Roman numerals. But this does not prove that a different printing-office produced that part of the

book. Curiously enough, the 'Table des Chapitres' at the beginning of the volume observes this change from Roman to Arabic numeration, and omits any page reference whatever for the inserted star sig. O, which would go to prove that the 'Table' was printed after all the text was in shape to be tabulated. The type is the same in the text throughout, except the last page, which is printed with a smaller font to bring it within the page—not an unusual circumstance in books of the period. Altogether considered, the volume has evident traces of having been 'built up' while in press. The author's 'Avis au Lecteur' and other considerations would seem to indicate that he supervised the work personally."[3]

The big lie is that Hennepin was the first, according to this book, to descend the Mississippi to the Gulf, and the story is the most extensive piece of plagiarism on record. It consists of a much expanded tale of the trip to the mouth of the Illinois river, followed by the story of a pretended voyage down the Mississippi to the Gulf and back. Most of this story is plagiarized either from Le Clercq's book or from Father Membré's manuscript. In 1691, Father Chrétien Le Clercq published in Paris his *Premier Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France,* an account of the Récollect missions among the Indians. It, together with Hennepin's *Description of Louisiana,* give the earliest printed accounts of La Salle's voyage down the Mississippi. Le Clercq's book was offensive to the Jesuits because he had doubts as to the authenticity of the forty volumes of the Jesuit relations published between 1632 and 1672, and he considered Marquette's discovery of the Mississippi an imposture. Probably for these and other reasons, the book is said to have been suppressed by the government, which probably accounts for its great rarity. It contains the journal of Father Zenobe Membré, who accompanied La Salle on his voyage down the Mississippi in 1681. The slightest comparison of this narrative with that of Hennepin will disclose that the latter plagiarized extensively from the Mem-

[3] Victor Hugo Paltsits' Bibliography of Hennepin's books, in reprint of Hennepin's *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America.* Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co., 1903, I: liii.

bré account when he wrote his *Nouvelle Decouverte,* 1697, often using his very words, and sometimes copying entire pages, with no other alterations than such as were necessary to make himself, instead of La Salle, the hero. Hennepin may also have copied from the unpublished journal of Membré, which the latter had placed in the hands of his Superior; or he may have compiled from Le Clercq's book, relying on the suppression of that book to prevent detection.

On the other hand, Hennepin says in the preface to part 2 (Continuation) of his *New Discovery,* in English, published in London in 1698: "Tis true, the Diary of my Discovery, of which I gave a Copy to Father Valentin le Roux, as I have observed in my first Volume, was communicated unto him, as also some Memoires of Father Zenobe Mambre [*sic*], who remained among the Illinois, while I was sent to discover the Course of the Meschasipi; and so far Father le Clercqz [*sic*] is right, but his Additions are not of the same Coyn. . . . But if I do not blame Father le Clercqz for the honorable mention he makes of his Relation [Membre], I think everybody will condemn him for his concealing the name of the Author he has transcribed, and thereby attributing to himself the glory of my perilous Voyage. This piece of Injustice is common enough in this Age." (p. [10])

"From these Observations it is plain, that as I was the first European who discovered the Course of the Meschasipi, . . . so all others have seen nothing but what I had seen before, and have related nothing material, but what they have abstracted out of the Copy of the Journal of my Voyage which I gave to Father Valentin le Roux, and was by him communicated to Father Hyacinth le Fevre." (p. [11])

However, on pages 218 and 219 of his *Description de la Louisiane,* 1683, Hennepin says: "Nous avions quelque dessein de nous rendre jusques à l'emboucheure du Fleuve Colbert, qui probablement se décharge plûtost dans le sein de Mexique, que dans la Mer vermeille; mais ces Nations qui se saisirent de nous,

ne nous donner pas le temps de naviger haut & bas de ce Fleuve.

"Nous avions fait environ deux cens lieux par eau, depuis nostre depart des Islinois, & nous navigâmes avec ces Sauvages qui nous prirent pendant dix neuf jours, tantost au Nord, tantost au Nord'Oüest, selon les runs de vent que le Fleuve saisoit, & selon l'estime que nous en avons faite; depuis ce temps-là nous fimes environ deux cens cinquante lieuës de chemin sur le Fleuve Colbert, mesme davantage: car ces Sauvages nagent d'une grande force en Canot, depuis le grand matin jusques au soir, à peine s'arresterent ils pour manger pendant le jour."

This is translated into English by Shea in his English text published in 1880 as follows: "We had some design of proceeding down to the mouth of the river Colbert, which more probably empties into the Gulf of Mexico than into the Red Sea; but these tribes that seized us, gave us no time to sail up or down this river.

"We had made about two hundred leagues by water since our departure from the Islinois, and we sailed with these Indians who took us during nineteen days, sometimes north, sometimes north-west, according to the direction which the river took. By the estimate which we formed, since that time, we made about two hundred and fifty leagues, or even more on Colbert river; for these Indians paddle with great force, from early morning till evening, scarcely stopping to eat during the day." (p. 212)

From this statement, and from his many exaggerations and contradictions, it seems quite obvious as to who was doing the plagiarizing. The first 313 pages and the ten pages numbered 313* contain an amplification of the story of Hennepin's voyage down the Illinois and up the Mississippi told in his 1683 edition; the balance of the book contains the story of his alleged voyage down the Mississippi to the gulf and back. *Les Moeurs des Sauvages*, which constitutes part 2 of the 1683 edition is omitted from this book. Following are some of the exaggerated statements in the 1697 edition from those in the 1683 edition: In

1683, Niagara Falls was 600 feet high; in 1697 it was 700 feet high. The 1683 edition says there were 33 canoes of Sioux who surprised and made Hennepin and his two companions prisoners in April, 1680; in 1697, there were 50 canoes. Hennepin complains bitterly of the Indians' treatment of him. Afraid that he would lag behind, as his canoe was heavy and slow, the Indians placed several warriors in it to assist in paddling. And yet this canoe had, by Hennepin's account, made a distance of 1,380 miles from the mouth of the Mississippi upward in 24 days, which means he would have had to paddle the incredible distance of upwards of 57 miles per day! The 1683 edition says the Falls of St. Anthony were 40 or 50 feet high; in 1697, he adds 10 feet. Hennepin saw a snake endeavoring to rob a swallow's nest near the Falls of St. Anthony, which in 1683 was 6 feet long; in 1697, it had grown to 7 or 8 feet.

A reprint of this edition in French was published in Amsterdam in 1698, and there were numerous later editions, abridgments and translations.

In 1698, there was also published in Utrecht, where *Nouvelle Decouverte* had been published the year before, *Nouveau Voyage d'un Pais plus grand que l'Europe*, but from the press of another publisher. It was Hennepin's third book, hastily compiled to take advantage of the popularity of his second book, *Nouvelle Decouverte*. The accounts of Indian life from *Nouvelle Decouverte* are crudely augmented with matter largely from Le Clercq. The Indian material had been omitted from *Nouvelle Decouverte* to make room for the fictitious trip down the Mississippi. There were at least two later editions of this book in French, and translations into Dutch and German. It is described as follows:

1698 French

NOUVEAU | VOYAGE | d'un Pais plus grand que | L'EUROPE | Avec les reflections des entreprises du Sieur | de la Salle, sur les Mines de St. Barbe, &c. | Enrichi de la Carte, de figures expressives, des moeurs | & manieres de vivre des Sauvages du Nord, | & du Sud, de la prise de Que-

bec Ville Capital- | le de la Nouvelle France, par les Anglois, & des | avantages qu'on peut retirer du chemin recourci | de la Chine & du Japon, par le moien de tant | de Vastes Countrées, & de Nouvelles Colonies. | Avec approbation & dedié à sa Majesté | GUILLAUME III. | Roy de la grande | BRETAGNE | PAR LE | R. P. LOUIS HENNEPIN, | Missionaire Recollect & Notaire Apostolique. | [line] | A UTRECHT, | Chez ANTOINE SCHOUTEN,[4] | Marchand Libraire. 1698. |

Collation: 12mo; title, verso blank; dedication, "A Guillaume III," pp. [20]; preface, pp. [38]; "Table des Chapitres," pp. [8]; Voyage, text, pp. 1-389. No mispaging. Lines 2, 4, 15, 17, 19 and 22 (except the word "Chez") of the title page are printed in red.

Plates: At p. 1, a fld. map described below.

At p. 19: Fld. plate, "Avantures mal-heureuses du Sieur de la Salle," signed "L. van Vianen del et fec."

At p. 73: Fld. plate, "Le Sieur de La Salle mal-heureusemet assasiné." No engraver's name is shown.

At p. 204: Fld. plate, "Cruautéz in-oüies des Sauvages Iroquois," signed, "L van Vianen fec."

At p. 343: Fld. plate, "Prise de Quebeek par les Anglois," in banner at top of plate. The plate is signed, "I. van Vianen del et fec."

Signatures: *, **, ***, and A to Q in twelves; R in four. The 12th leaf of signature *** is a stub to which the map is attached. The 4th leaf of signature R is blank.

Description of map: Carte | D'un Nouueau | Monde, | Entre le Nouueau | Mexique. | et la Mer Glacialle | Novellement decouvert par le | R. P. Louis de Hennepin | Missionaire Recollect natif d'Aht. | en Hainaut | dediee' a sa Majeste' | Britanique le Roy | Guilaume Troisieme | by "Gasp: Bouttats fecit." 46.2 x 28.5 cm. Reëngraved from map in 1683 edition.

The same year (1698) that *Nouveau Voyage* was published in Utrecht, there were two editions in English published in London, under the patronage of King William. The title of each is the same, *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America*. While the substance of corresponding chapters in the two editions is the same, there are many textual differences. There is no conclusive evidence as to which was first. They are usually distinguished

[4] Some copies read "Chez Ernestus Voskuyl."

from each other by the difference in the arrangement of the publisher's names in the imprint. One has the imprint: London, Printed for M. Bentley, J. Tonson, | H. Bonwick, T. Goodwin, and S. Manship. 1698. | It is known as the "Tonson" edition. The other has the imprint: London: Printed for M. Bentley, J. Tonson, H. Bon- | wick, T. Goodwin, and S. Manship. 1698. | It is known as the "Bon" edition. The descriptions of each follow:

1698 English "Bon" edition

A | New Discovery | OF A | *Vast Country in* AMERICA, | Extending above Four Thousand Miles, | BETWEEN | New France *and* New Mexico. | WITH A | Description of the Great *Lakes, Cata-* | *racts, Rivers, Plants,* and *Animals*: | Also, The *Manners, Customs,* and *Languages,* of the | several Native *Indians*; And the Advantage of | Commerce with those different Nations. | [line] | WITH A | CONTINUATION: | Giving an ACCOUNT of the | Attempts of the Sieur *De la SALLE* upon the | Mines of *St. Barbe,* &c. The Taking of | *Quebec* by the *English;* With the Advantages | of a Shorter Cut to *China* and *Japan.* | [line] | Both Parts Illustrated with *Maps* and *Figures,* | and Dedicated to His Majesty K. *William.* | [line] | By L. Hennepin, now Resident in *Holland.* | [line] | To which is added, Several *New Discoveries* in *North-* | *America,* not publish'd in the *French* Edition. | [line] | *LONDON*: Printed for *M. Bentley, J. Tonson, H. Bon-* | *wick, T. Goodwin,* and *S. Manship.* 1698.

Collation: 8vo; title page bordered by double line, verso blank; dedication, "To His Most Excellent Majesty William III," pp. [8]; preface, pp. [4]; contents of the chapters, pp. [8]; "A New Discovery," text, pp. 1-299; verso of p. 299 blank; a second title page as follows:

A | CONTINUATION | OF THE | New Discovery | OF A | *Vast Country in* AMERICA, | Extending above Four Thousand Miles, | BETWEEN | New France *and* New Mexico; | Giving an | ACCOUNT | OF THE | Attempts of the Sieur *De la SALLE* upon the | Mines of *St. Barbe,* &c. The Taking of | *Quebec* by the *English*; With the Advantages | of a Shorter Cut to *China* and *Japan.* | [line] | By *L. Hennepin,* now Resident in *Holland.* | [line] | To which is added, Several *New Discoveries* in *North-* | *America,* not publish'd in the *French* Edition. | [line] | *LONDON,* | Printed in the Year, 1698. |

This title page is also bordered by a double line and verso blank; dedi-

cation "To William III," pp. [9] (verso of 9th page blank); preface, pp. [16] (at bottom of 16th page are the catch words, "A NEW."); "A Table of Chapters," pp. [4]; voyage, text, pp. 1-178; at bottom of p. 178, are the catch words, "An Account;" a half title reading: AN | ACCOUNT | OF SEVERAL | New Discoveries | IN | *North-America.*; verso of half title blank; An Account, text, pp. 303-355; verso of p. 355 blank; in part 2, there are no pages 179-302. Pages are misnumbered as follows: part 1, 202, 102; 203, 103; 206, 109; 207, 107; part 2, 131, 141; pp. 45-48 are duplicated.

Plates: The six plates are of the same subjects as in the 1697 and 1698 French editions, but all are reëngraved. None is signed by the artist, and they are all reversed except the view of Niagara Falls at p. 29. The four plates in part 2, *A Continuation*, are somewhat more crudely engraved.

An engraved frontispiece similar to the one in the 1697 French edition, but in reverse and with English instead of French title: A New Discovery of a Large | Country in AMERICA by Father | Lewis [*sic*] Hennepin |.

At p. 1, part 1: Fld. map. See description (1) below.

At p. 29, part 1: Fld. plate, view of Niagara Falls. Same subject as plate at p. 44 of 1697 French edition.

At p. 114, part 1: Fld. plate, Buffalo. Same subject as plate at p. 187 of 1697 French edition.

At p. 1, part 2: Fld. map, same as map at p. 1 of 1698 French edition, with titles changed to English. See description (2) below.

At p. 9, part 2: Fld. plate, "The unfortunate Adventures of the Sieur de la Salle." Same subject as plate at p. 19 of 1698 French edition.

At p. 33, part 2: Fld. plate, "The Sieur de la Salle unhappily assasinated." Same subject as plate at p. 73 of 1698 French edition.

At p. 89, part 2: Fld. plate, "Unheard of Crueltys of the Iroquois." Same as plate at p. 204 of 1698 French edition.

At p. 157, part 2: Fld. plate, "Taking of Quebec by the English." Same subject as plate at p. 343 of 1698 French edition.

Signatures: Part 1, A in eight (frontispiece 1st leaf), a in four, B-T except J in eights, V in six. Part 2, Aa in six (Aa_2 misnumbered Aa_4), Bb-Ee in eights, *ee in two, Ff-Nn in eights, Oo in four (half title is the 1st leaf), X, Y and Z in eights, Aa (repeat) in two.

Descriptions of maps: (1) A Map | of a Large Country | Newly Discovered | in the | Northern America | situated between | New Mexico | And the Frozen Sea | together with the Course | of the Great River |

Meschasipi | Dedicated to his Maty. | William III | King of Great Britain | By Father | Lewis [*sic*] Hennepin | Missionary Recollect and | Apostolic Notary |. No engraver shown. Reëngraved from the second map in 1697 French edition. 43 x 36.5 cm.

(2) A Map | of A New World | between New Mexico | And the Frozen Sea | Newly Discovered by Father | Lewis [*sic*] Hennepin | Missionary Recollect and Native | of Aht in Hainault | Dedicated to his Majesty | of | Great Britain | William III |. No engraver shown. Reëngraved from map in 1698 French edition. 44 x 27 cm.

1698 English "Tonson" edition

A | New Discovery | OF A | *Vast Country in* AMERICA, | extending above Four Thousand Miles, | BETWEEN | New France *and* New Mexico; | WITH A | Description of the Great *Lakes, Cata-* | *racts, Rivers, Plants,* and *Animals.* | Also, the *Manners, Customs,* and *Languages* of the se- | veral Native *Indians*; and the Advantage of Com- | merce with those different Nations. | [line] | WITH A | CONTINUATION, | Giving an ACCOUNT of the | Attempts of the Sieur *De la SALLE* upon the | Mines of *St. Barbe,* &c. The Taking of | *Quebec* by the *English*; With the Advantages | of a Shorter Cut to *China* and *Japan.* | [line] | Both Parts Illustrated with *Maps,* and *Figures,* | and Dedicated to His Majesty K. *William.* | [line] | By *L. Hennepin,* now Resident in *Holland.* | [line] | To which are added, Several *New Discoveries* in *North-* | *America,* not publish'd in the *French* Edition. | [line] | *LONDON,* Printed for *M. Bentley, J. Tonson,* | *H. Bonwick, T. Goodwin,* and *S. Manship.* 1698. |

Collation: 8vo; title page bordered by a double line, verso blank; dedication, "To His most Excellent Majesty William III," pp. [8]; preface, pp. [4]; contents of chapters, pp. [8]; "A New Discovery," text, pp. 1-243 (verso of p. 243 blank); a second title page as follows:

A | CONTINUATION, | OF THE | New Discovery | OF A | *Vast Country in* America, | Extending above Four Thousand Miles, | BETWEEN | New France *and* New Mexico; | Giving an | ACCOUNT | OF THE | Attempts of the Sieur *De la SALLE* upon the | Mines of *St. Barbe,* &c. The Taking of | *Quebec* by the *English*; With the Advantages | of a Shorter Cut to *China* and *Japan.* | [line] | By *L. Hennepin,* now Resident in *Holland.* | [line] | To which are added, Several *New Discoveries* in *North-* | *America,* not publish'd in the *French* Edition. | [line] | *LONDON,* Printed for *M. Bentley, J. Tonson,* | *H. Bonwick, T. Goodwin,* and *S. Manship.* 1698. |

This title page is also bordered by a double line, verso blank; dedication "To His Majesty William III," pp. [8]; preface, pp. [15]; contents, pp. [7]; voyage, text, pp. 1-228.

Page 186 of part 1 is misnumbered 168; page 206 is misnumbered 106; and page 90 of part 2 is not numbered.

Plates: The six plates are of the same subjects as in the "Bon" edition, but with the exception of the view of Niagara Falls, and the picture of a buffalo, are reversed and are quite superior in quality to the plates in the "Bon" edition, and more like the plates in the 1698 French edition. Three of them are signed by the artists.

An engraved frontispiece same as in the "Bon" edition and probably printed from the same plate.

At p. 1, part 1: Fld. map same as at p. 1, part 1, of "Bon" edition.

At p. 24, part 1: Fld. plate, view of Niagara Falls same as at p. 29, part 1, of "Bon" edition and probably printed from the same plate.

At p. 61, part 1: Fld. plate, "The Taking of Quebec by the English," same subject as plate at p. 157, part 2, of "Bon" edition. Engraved by M. Vander Gucht, Scul. This plate appears sometimes at p. 161, part 2.

At p. 90, part 1: Fld. plate, Buffalo, same as the plate at p. 114, part 1, of "Bon" edition and probably printed from the same plate. No engraver shown.

At p. 1, part 2: Fld. map, same as at p. 1, part 2, of "Bon" edition.

At p. 9, part 2: Fld. plate, "The Unfortunate adventures of Monsr. de la Salle," same subject as plate at p. 9, part 2, of "Bon" edition. Engraved by M. Vander Gucht, Scul.

At p. 33, part 2: Fld. plate, "The Murther of Monsr. de la Salle," same subject as plate at p. 33, part 2, of "Bon" edition. Engraved by M. Vander Gucht, Scul.

At p. 98, part 2: Fld. plate, "The Cruelty of The Savage Iroquois," same subject as plate at p. 89, part 2, of "Bon" edition. No engraver shown.

Signatures: Part 1, A in eight (frontispiece is 1st leaf); a in four; B-Q except J in eights; R in two; Part 2, A in eight; a in eight; B-M except J in eights; N in four; O and P in eights; Q in six.

Both the 1698 English editions are translations of *Nouvelle Decouverte,* published in French in Utrecht in 1697, and *Nouveau Voyage,* published in French in Utrecht in 1698. The first parts are translations of the 1697 French, *Nouvelle Decouverte*; the

second parts are translations of the 1698 French, *Nouveau Voyage*.

In the "Bon" edition, Arabic numerals are used for chapter numbers in "Contents of the Chapters," and chapter numbers are at the left of the page. Page numbers on which chapters begin are shown. While Arabic numerals are used in the table, Roman numerals are used for chapter headings throughout the book, the same as in the "Tonson" edition.

In the "Tonson" edition, Roman numerals are used for chapter numbers in "Contents of the Chapters," and the numbers are in the middle of the page. No page numbers are shown on which the chapters begin. Roman numerals are used for chapter headings throughout the book.

In the "Tonson" edition, the lines of the text are longer than in the "Bon" edition. While the length of the lines is not uniform in either edition, the lines in the "Tonson" edition are approximately a centimeter longer than in the "Bon" edition. Part 1 in the "Tonson" edition has 243 pages; "Bon" 299. Part 2 in the "Tonson" edition has 184 pages; "Bon" 178, the reason being the use of smaller type in this part. "An account of several new discoveries in North America," in the "Tonson" edition has 44 pages; "Bon" 53, or a total of 471 pages in the "Tonson" edition and 530 pages in the "Bon" edition.

Both editions seem to be printed from the same type fonts. While the substance of corresponding chapters in the two editions is the same, there are many textual differences. There is no conclusive evidence as to which edition was first, but from the fact that the text of the English edition of 1699, published by one of the publishers of the 1698 editions (Henry Bonwicke), follows closely the "Tonson" edition of 1698, it may be assumed that the "Tonson" edition followed the "Bon" edition. Furthermore, the plates are of better quality in the "Tonson" edition, and the text of the "Tonson" edition seems to be an amplification of the text of the "Bon" edition. Paltsits' conclusion, also, was that the "Tonson" followed the "Bon."

Following is a description of the 1699 English edition, which seems to be based largely on the 1698 "Tonson" edition, and published by one of its publishers:

1699 English

A | New Discovery | OF A | Vast Country in *America*, | Extending above Four Thousand Miles, | BETWEEN | *New France* & *New Mexico*; | WITH A | Deseription [*sic*] of the Great *Lakes*, *Cataracts*, | *Rivers*, *Plants*, and *Animals*, | Also, the *Manners*, *Customs*, and *Languages* of the several | Native *Indians*; And the Advantage of Commerce with | those different Nations. | [line] | WITH A | CONTINUATION | Giving an ACCOUNT of the | Attempts of the Sieur *de la SALLE* upon the | Mines of St. *Barbe*, &c. The Taking of *Quebec* | by the *English*; With the Advantages of a | shorter Cut to *China* and *Japan*. | [line] | Both Illustrated with *Maps*, and *Figures*; and Dedicated | to His Majesty King *WILLIAM*. | [line] | By *L. Hennepin* now Resident in *Holland*. | [line] |To which are added, Several *New Discoveries* in *North-* | *America*, not Publish'd in the *French* Edition. | [line] | LONDON, Printed by for *Henry Bonwicke*, at the *Red Lion* | in St. *Paul's* Church-yard. 1699. |

Collation: 8vo; title page bordered by a double line, verso blank; dedication "To His most Excellent Majesty William III," pp. [8]; preface, pp. [4]; contents of chapters, pp. [6]; "A New Discovery," text, pp. 1-138, 155-170, 161-240 (total 234); a second title page as follows:

A | CONTINUATION | OF THE | New Discovery | OF A | *Vast Country in* AMERICA, | Extending above Four Thousand Miles, | BETWEEN | New France *and* New Mexico; | Giving an | ACCOUNT | OF THE | Attempts of the Sieur *De la SALLE* upon the | Mines of *St. Barbe*, &c. The Taking of | *Quebec* by the *English*; With the Advantages | of a Shorter Cut to *China* and *Japan*. | [line] | By *L. Hennepin*, now Resident in *Holland*. | [line] | To which are added, Several *New Discoveries* in *North* | *America*, not publish'd in the *French* Edition. | [line] | LONDON: Printed for *H. Bonwick*, at the | *Red Lyon* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard. 1699.

This title page is also bordered by a double line, verso blank; dedication "To His Majesty William III," pp. [6]; preface, pp. [11]; contents, pp. [5]; voyage, text, pp. 1-216. In part 1, page 68 is misnumbered 69; page 69 is misnumbered 68; and page 97 is misnumbered 96. No mispaging in part 2.

Plates: The plates, including the engraved frontispiece, are the same as in the 1698 "Tonson" edition, and probably printed from the same plates, but they are in some cases differently located and the changed locations are engraved on the plates. The two maps are the same as in the 1698 "Tonson" edition. The locations of maps and plates are as follows:

Engraved frontispiece facing title page.

Facing title page: "A map of a large country . . ." Same as "Tonson" p. 1, part 1.

At p. 22, part 1: Fld. plate of Niagara Falls.

At p. 51, part 1: Fld. plate, "The Taking of Quebec by the English." This plate is at p. 61, part 1, of the 1698 "Tonson" edition, and is so engraved. It was at p. 157, part 2, of the 1698 "Bon" edition.

At p. 86, part 1: Fld. plate, Buffalo.

At p. 1, part 2: "A map of a new world . . ." Same as "Tonson" p. 1, part 2.

At p. 8, part 2: Fld. plate, "The unfortunate adventures of Monsr. de la Salle."

At p. 31, part 2: Fld. plate, "The Murther of Monsr. de la Salle."

At p. 92, part 2: Fld. plate, "The Cruelty of The Savage Iroquois."

The plates at p. 51, part 1; p. 8, part 2; and p. 31, part 2, are signed by the same engravers as the corresponding plates in the 1698 "Tonson" edition. The three plates in part 2 have engraved on them page numbers only, and are therefore sometimes found at the designated pages of part 1.

Signatures: Part 1, A in eight (frontispiece first leaf); B-Q, except J, in eights; Part 2, R-Z, except V, in eights; Aa-Hh in eights. Signature Dd_4 not numbered.

1880 English

This volume contains the first translation into English of the original 1683 French edition.

A | DESCRIPTION | OF | LOUISIANA, | By FATHER LOUIS HENNEPIN, | RECOLLECT MISSIONARY. | TRANSLATED FROM THE EDITION OF 1683, AND COMPARED WITH THE NOUVELLE | DÉCOUVERTE, THE LA SALLE DOCUMENTS AND OTHER | CONTEMPORANEOUS PAPERS. | By JOHN GILMARY SHEA. | [small ornament] | NEW YORK | JOHN G. SHEA. | 1880. |

Collation: 4to; title, copyright notice on verso; dedication, 1 p.; preface, 2 pp., [5] and 6; contents, 2 pp. [7] and 8; notice of Father Louis Hen-

nepin, pp. [8]-53*; Description of Louisiana, pp. [41]-341; appendix, pp. [343]-381; bibliography, pp. 382-392; index, pp. [393]-407.

Plates: Facing title page, fld. map, facsimile of map in 1683 French edition.

At p. [41]: Facsimile of title page of the 1683 French edition.

At p. 378: Facsimile of view of Niagara Falls in the 1683 French edition.

Signatures: 29, in eights.

Bibliographical Notes

The First Edition of the New Testament in French

There exist two undated editions of the New Testament in French, both printed by the prototypographer of Lyons, Guillaume Le Roy. He worked for Barthelemy Buyer, wealthy merchant and patron of printing, in whose house the first printing press of Lyons was operating.

Of these two editions, one (Pell. 2363) is set in one column or "long lines," the other (Pell. 2364) in two columns. Some time ago, Mr. William H. Scheide acquired a copy of the rare two-column edition. Previous to its arrival in this country, only one copy was in America, namely the one in the New York Public Library; only one was recorded outside of French libraries: the one in the John Rylands Library in Manchester.

The question as to which of the two editions was printed first has long puzzled the book world. It is now possible to assign priority unquestionably to the two-column edition.

Dibdin (in *Bibl. Spenceriana*, Suppl., 1822, No. 1271) had no doubt about the priority of this two-column edition, and he was followed by Van Eys (*Bibl. Bibles & Nouveaux Testaments* II, No. 1) and Darlowe & Moule (No. 3699). However, Brunet was puzzled by the fact that although the two-column edition, unlike its rival, had no signatures, it was decorated with initials which seemed to him more advanced than the simple outline woodcuts in the one-column edition. In his *Manuel* he therefore gave the latter the first place. Pellechet and Stillwell followed in his footsteps, although Brunet reversed his decision in his *France littéraire* (199) and agreed with the earlier tradition which gave preference to the two-column edition. Hain, who never saw the book, and Copinger as well, gave misleading descriptions, as did the *Census* (B585, including in the bibliographical references Pr. 8501 and BMC, French, p. 63, which refers to the one-column edition described as Census B584).

The copy for Barthelemy Buyer's printer was prepared by two learned members of the Augustinian Order at Lyons, the Doctors Julien Macho

and Pierre Farget. They based their edition on the then current version of Guiars de Moulin's late thirteenth-century *Bible historiale,* which in turn was a French translation, or rather adaptation, of Petrus Comestor's *Historia Scholastica,* composed in the twelfth century.

Guillaume Le Roy's two-column edition is an exceedingly interesting example of primitive printing. The design and casting of the letters, the composition and certainly also the presswork show very clearly that a man of relatively little experience was struggling as best he could with the new art of printing. The two-column edition shows much less skilful register than the one-column edition which has signatures not present in the other. The material used to hold the two columns on the bed of the press ("furniture") frequently received some ink and left thin lines imprinted along the edges of some of the columns. The sudden appearance of extremely narrow columns on two leaves in the Apocalypse and reversed running heads on folio 196 also indicate the experimental and relatively inexperienced workmanship of the printer.

Definite proof of the priority of the two-column edition can be derived from a study of the type faces used in the two editions. Proctor had made no distinction between the various stages of Guillaume Le Roy's Type One, but the British Museum Catalogue of Incunabula contains a careful analysis of this font, distinguishing three stages (Vol. VIII, p. 232, pl. xxxiv. Compare also the illustrations in Claudin's *Histoire de l'Imprimerie en France,* Vol. III, pp. 2, 5, and 19). The earliest condition of the type—116 G—occurs in the Innocentius III (Lotharius, B.M. Cat. VIII, p. 233) dated Sept. 17, 1473. The next stage—116 (119) G—appears in the Jacobus de Voragine (also B.M. Cat. VIII, p. 233) of April 18, 1476, and in the Rodericus Zamorensis (B.M. Cat. VIII, p. 234) of July 8, 1477. The third stage—116 (117)—can be seen in the *Livre du Mirouer Historial* (Claudin III, p. 19), dated July 31, 1479.

An examination of the types used in the two-column edition of the New Testament reveals the presence of all the distinguishing characteristics of 116 (119) G, but none of 116 (117). To cite specific criteria, there is no occurrence here of the B with the "vertical stroke in the middle of the upper half," nor of the i which "is small and leans to the right." Both these later characteristics, however, can be found throughout the one-column edition, as an examination of the copy in the Pierpont Morgan Library shows very clearly.

In view of the dated occurrence of these two stages of the type it is

possible to say definitely that the two-column edition of the New Testament must have been printed before the one-column edition, sometime between 1473 and 1479 (the B.M. Catal. says 1476).

There are also other, less direct indications of the earlier date of the two-column edition. In the one-column, or "long line" edition, the initial letters are drawn in very thin outlines, obviously intended as guides for the illuminator. By contrast, the decorative initials in the earlier, two-column edition, are very primitive in character. Eight years ago, and quite unaware of their bearing upon the dating of Guillaume Le Roy's New Testament in French, I had occasion to comment on the initials used in the two-column edition. In the preface to *Initials from French Incunabula* (New York, Aldus Book Company, 1948), where these are reproduced as numbers 404-444, I described them as the earliest French initial letters included in the volume. I wrote: "They are quite obviously imitated from illuminated letters. One can see how the woodcut artist tried, none too successfully, to copy both the all-over geometrical patterns and the delicate gold-line ornaments which one finds invariably on the tapestry background of French illumination. The wide borders around the initials, soon to be discarded, are still in evidence here."

A further argument in favor of the priority of the two-column edition is the fact that there was a strong tradition in favor of this manner of setting the text of the Bible. A consultation of the New Testament entries in the *Gesamtkatalog* shows that there were no fifteenth-century editions set in one column only. Apparently the only earlier occurrence of the one-column pages, but only in conjunction with other pages set in two columns, can be found in two Italian Bibles printed in 1471 (GW 4210, Rome, Sweynheym & Pannartz, and GW 4321, Venice, Ammergau).

The question may well be asked why Barthelemy Buyer commissioned Guillaume Le Roy to print another edition of the New Testament in French, after what cannot have been more than a few years' interval. Perhaps he was dissatisfied with the experimental quality of the typography in the two-column edition. The choice of the very unusual one-column composition for the second edition can perhaps be explained as his wish to prepare a more modern, perhaps more "Italian-looking" book for a sophisticated clientèle. This would be borne out by the use of the very thin outline initials, which, when properly illuminated by hand, would lend added lustre to this edition.

There is one other very curious circumstance about the two-column

edition which may have a bearing on Buyer's decision to reprint the New Testament in French.

I noticed in Mr. Scheide's copy that on the right column of the last page, containing the last eight lines of the colophon, the remaining blank portion showed traces of another twenty-one lines of printing which had been erased to the point of illegibility. Only the tops of the ascenders of the first-erased line and faint beginnings of the last seven lines survive. There is also a blind impression of what looks like a border along the entire left side of the right column, and the ultra-violet lamp reveals traces of what look like pen-drawn decorations and an initial letter on the verso of the page.

Surprisingly enough, a comparison with the copy in the Reserve Room of the New York Public Library showed that exactly the same portion had been eliminated there, but by a different method: it had been cut away and replaced by a different piece of paper. What we see today is a careful job of restoration, probably of fairly recent date. Why should a blank portion have been restored? A skeptic might say that the last page was in bad condition, perhaps exposed to rough treatment in a defective binding. The New York Public Library copy, from the collection of James Lenox, was indeed rebound in the first half of the nineteenth century in purple straight-grained morocco. My suspicion that in this copy, too, something was once on that page which someone did not want to stay there, led me to an investigation of the other remaining copies of this edition.

The results were decidedly revealing. Everyone of the copies with the last page present about which I received information showed clear evidence that on the blank portion of the right column something had once been printed which had been subsequently eliminated.

Altogether eleven copies of the two-column edition are known to me. Five copies, including Mr. Scheide's, have the last page intact and with faint traces of printing. Three copies, including the New York Public Library copy, have the paper replaced. One copy, the one in Lyons, lacks the last page. The condition of two copies (those in Besançon and Rouen) is unknown to me. Details about the other copies are as follows:

IMPRESSION ERASED

William H. Scheide Collection, Titusville, Pa. Condition described above.

John Rylands Library, Manchester. Mr. Edward Robertson, Librarian, writes: "We have examined our copy of the last leaf and it is quite complete,

nothing has been cut away but faint traces of a text which has been erased are visible after the colophon. The traces are not legible, I am sorry to say."

Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris. Mademoiselle H. S. Humbert writes: ". . . La page du colophon est entière, mais seul le colophon est visible (cf. Pellechet); on peut distinguer sur la partie droite de la feuille dont le papier est très mince, les traces d'un texte imprimé, complètement effacé (par un produit chimique semble-t-il) dont pourtant les 4 dernières lignes sont encore visibles, mais on ne peut lire aucune lettre. . . .

"Le colophon est suivi d'une mention manuscrite (écriture du XVIe siècle) qui présente un intérêt bibliographique: 'au moy de juyng mil troys cens quarante et sept ainsi qu'il estait escript au commencement de ce Livre qui a esté rompu'. Peut-être a-t-on voulu supprimer une date erronée, dûe à une faute d'impression, ce qui expli querait la disparition du text imprimé à la suite du colophon?"

Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris. Madame M. Wintzweiller, Conservateur Chargé de la Direction de la Réserve, writes: "Notre exemplaire du *Nouveau Testament en français* présente, lui aussi, la trace assez nette de 21 lignes imprimées à la suite du colophon. Ce n'est malheureusement qu'une trace où presque plus rien n'est lisible."

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. Dr. Franz Unterkircher, Direktor der Handschriftensammlung, writes: "Das Blatt ist in der Wiener ausgabe tadellos erhalten. Unter der letzten Zeile des Kolophon ('dit lion') stehen Reste von gedruckten Buchstaben, möglicherweise 'ice'. Es sieht so aus, als seien sie aus irgendeinem Grund in den Satz geraten, halb abgedeckt; es wurde kein Versuch gemacht, diese Spuren wegzuradieren."

PAPER REPLACED

The New York Public Library, N. Y. Condition as described above.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Monsieur Jacques Guignard, Département des Imprimés Réserve, writes: "Chose curieuse, notre exemplaire du *Nouveau Testament en français* (Lyon, Barthelemy Buyer, s.d.)—[Pellechet 2364, Bibl. Nat. Rés. A. 539 *(sic)*] comprend une particularité comparable à celle de l'un des deux exemplaires que vous avez pu examiner à New York. En effet, la feuille a été découpée au dessous du colophon jusqu'au bas de la seconde colonne. Cependant je ne peux vous assurer s'il s'agit d'une destruction accidentelle ou voulue, l'exemplaire étant en fort mauvais état et de nombreux feuillets se trouvant réenmargés. C'est en particulier le cas de ce dernier feuillet dans lequel le titre courant a en partie disparu et dont le colophon est en partie rongé . . . Naturellement, je ne puis voir si l'on a imprimé des lignes qui auraient disparu; quant aux réenmargements dont je vous parle, je pense qu'ils

ont été effectués au XVIII[e] siècle, date à laquelle le volume a reçu la reliure qui le recouvre actuellement."

Bibliothèque de Blois. Mademoiselle Souberbielle writes: ". . . après la dernière ligne: 'dit lion,' un carré de papier tranchant légérement sur la teinte de la page, a été collé, et même en transparence, l'on ne peut découvrir trace lisible d'écriture."

The results of this inquiry leave little doubt that the two-column edition of the New Testament contained twenty-one lines printed after the colophon, which were subsequently erased. The traces are indeed so faint that the lines cannot be read. Madame Wintzweiller was kind enough to send me a tentative transcript of some of the letters in the Sainte-Geneviève copy which were clearer than others. Since they are the same letters that are at least partially visible in Mr. Scheide's copy they did not supply additional clues. Perhaps examination of all copies in the original would be helpful. To date, the lines remain unread. However, it is possible to say that the types were of the same height and the lines of the same width as the rest of the printing. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that the printing was Guillaume Le Roy's and that the impression was simultaneous with the rest of the page.

But what was the text of those erased twenty-one lines, and why were they erased? Monsieur Guignard (in the letter quoted above) suggests as one possible explanation the accidental inking of so-called bearers or "Satzstützen," as the German incunabulist calls them. On pages with large blank areas, the early printer inserted odd lines of type matter, not intended to be inked, which would keep the sheet of paper in an even, horizontal position and prevent it from sagging down during the impressions. Blind impressions from these supports are not infrequently found in incunabula, and cases of accidental inking are on record (see McKerrow, *Introduction to Bibliography*, Oxford, 1927, p. 48; also the article "Satzstütze" in *Lexikon des Gesamten Buchwesens*, Leipzig, 1935). Perhaps this is what happened in Guillaume Le Roy's pressroom when the last form of the two-column New Testament was being printed.

However, the possibility remains that the twenty-one lines contained information originally intended to continue, supplement or follow the colophon, but were subsequently eliminated for unknown reasons and, incidentally, by an unknown method.

Mademoiselle H. S. Humbert, in her letter cited above, describes and transcribes a sixteenth-century manuscript entry written after the colophon in the copy in the Bibliothèque Mazarine. It mentions the date "June

1347 as it was written at the beginning of this book which has been broken." The significance of this entry must remain in abeyance until the time when we shall be able to read the cancelled twenty-one lines.

HELLMUT LEHMANN-HAUPT

The Walt Whitman Fellowship: An Account of its Organization and a Checklist of its Papers

The universality of Walt Whitman's appeal is well known. In a long forgotten organization, the Walt Whitman Fellowship, one may see concrete evidence of this at a time before Whitman had achieved his present position in American letters. One of the members of this group, whose story has never been told, writes:

> It is fine to see how various are the tastes and intellectual leanings of the crowd gathered to celebrate old Walt's birthday. Socialists, anarchists, communists, painters, poets, mechanics, laborers, business men, people of every shade of thought and from every avenue of life, are there, drawn together by the magnetism of a common love.[1]

The person mainly responsible for holding together the Walt Whitman Fellowship from 1894 until 1919 was Horace Traubel. At the various annual meetings, always held on the poet's birthday, May 31, in Philadelphia, New York, or Boston, such diverse people spoke as Emma Goldman, the famous Russian-born American anarchist; Hamlin Garland, the midwestern novelist; David Muzzey, the historian; John Butler Yeats, the painter and father of the Irish poet; Helen Keller, the blind and deaf lecturer and author; Samuel M. Jones, the "Golden Rule" mayor of Toledo, who was president of the Fellowship in 1902; J. H. Johnston, a New York jeweler and diamond merchant, one of the group's founders; Joseph and Mary Fels, of the family better known for Fels-Naptha Soap; and Laurens Maynard, of the publishing house of Small, Maynard. Others attending the Fellowship celebrations included the Whitman scholars and enthusiasts Dr. Richard Maurice Bucke, John Burroughs, Isaac Hull Platt, Thomas Harned, H. Buxton Forman, William English Walling, Oscar Lovell Triggs, Carleton Noyes, and Emory Holloway; and literary critics and writers Walter Lippmann, Max Eastman, Alfred Kreymborg, Richard Le Gallienne, Jessie B. Rittenhouse,

[1] Mildred Bain, *Horace Traubel* (New York, 1913), p. 7.

Clement Wood, E. C. Stedman, Franklin B. Sanborn, George Sylvester Viereck, Gustavus Myers, John T. Trowbridge, Rose Pastor Stokes, John Erskine, John Haynes Holmes, and Curtis Hidden Page. Among artists were Robert Henn, John Sloan, Art Young, Ordway Bridge, Arthur Goodman, Alfred Stiegletz, Marsden Hartley, and Max Weber, as well as J. B. Yeats.

Although distinguished people gave informal and formal talks at the Fellowship gatherings, which were apparently well attended, it did not mean financial prosperity. The first proposed constitution had as one of its clauses: "The annual dues shall be two dollars. Members more than one year in arrears may be dropped from the roll." The adopted constitution shortened this to: "The annual dues shall be two dollars." In 1896 the constitution was amended and all mention of dues was dropped. A new article entitled "Finances" read: "The Fellowship shall depend for its support upon voluntary contributions." Traubel, who served as secretary-treasurer of the Fellowship during the life of the organization, wrote in his 1896 report that membership now became "to all practical effect absolutely free," and the ultimate in democracy was achieved by the membership card reading "I announce myself a member." However, Traubel's fiscal problems were far from solved, and he sent out a brief paper to the members, "A Question of Finances Submitted to the Membership," asking for contributions to the publication fund. This fund was used for the printing of ballots, programs, and other matters, all of the items being called Walt Whitman Fellowship Papers. There were fifteen Papers the first year, twelve the second, and eleven the third. At the meeting of May 31, 1897, the treasurer was criticized for having incurred debts, mainly for printing, not covered by funds or guarantees. He replied that in the first year's test of the volunteer system for supplying the treasury the "response to appeals made on this basis had not been general." Therefore the bills of the Fellowship were paid by money collected at the annual convention. At the 1898 meeting Traubel said that of the 202 members, only 46 had contributed during the year, 56 had refused, and 100 "had ignored all the communications of the Treasurer on the subject." Again the next year, while the Fellowship remained solvent, only 39 contributed, eight refused, and 168 were silent on money, Traubel's report adding: "Strange as it may seem, some members default even after having given a deliberate guarantee. It is from numbers of the very large majority making up the non-contributing element that the delays in the issuance of Papers have been severely commented upon." There were eleven Papers published in the fourth year, nine in the fifth, 1898-1899, and only three in the sixth

year. The final secretary-treasurer's report to be printed (1903) said that the Fellowship Papers did not include papers read at the conventions because "unpleasant difficulties have arisen in the attempts to collect the funds. It takes some money. Not a good deal. But some. Can the money be raised? The membership should be reminded that our treasury is dependent entirely upon their spontaneous feeling for its returns." The number of Papers published each year was reduced to the barest minimum, and Traubel repeated in each announcement of a coming annual meeting his request for funds: "These voluntary contributions constitute the Fellowship's only source of income."

For an account of the Walt Whitman Fellowship it is necessary to go back to 1892. About two months after Whitman's death, J. H. Johnston wrote:

Phil. [~~May~~] June 1st [18]92

WALT WHITMAN'S BIRTHDAY.

An association formed to perpetuate the poet's fame.

A number of friends of the late Walt Whitman, the poet, gathered around the festive board at Reisser's restaurant last evening, in memory of his 73rd birthday. The banquet and meeting was a very informal affair and was attended only by some of Whitman's closest friends, nearly all of whom took part in the speech-making. After the banquet had been served an organization was effected to be known as the Whitman Reunion Association.

"The objects of the association as laid down in the minutes are, first, to keep fresh in our hearts the memories of our departed friend, the poet. Second, to extend the influence of his writings where they are not yet understood and loved.

"To attain the first of these objects each of us agree to be present whenever possible at the annual reunion of the birthday of the poet, and to attain the second we each of us agree, at least once during the year, to write an article or read a paper to some society, large or small, relating to Walt Whitman or his writings. The title of the paper will be sent to the secretary of the reunion."

The officers of the association will consist of a chairman to be elected annually and a secretary whose term shall be five years.

John H. Johnston, of New York, was elected chairman; Horace L. Traubel, secretary, and Dr. [Daniel G.] Brinton, chairman of the Philadelphia delegation.

Mr. Johnston, on behalf of the Twilight Club of New York, extended an invitation to those present at the reunion to attend "Whitman [day]night" of the club which is to be held in the month of September or October.

Those who took part in the celebration last evening and formed the Whitman Association are Dr. Brinton, Harrison O. Morris, William Ingram, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Fels, Samuel Loag, Ernest Huber, Dr. Daniel Longaker, Thomas

Eakins, John R. Witcraft, Samuel A. Murray, David McKay, John H. Johnston, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas B. Harned and daughter, Professor Geoffrey Buckwalter, Harry L. Bonsall, Dr. and Mrs. Alexander McAllister, Horace L. Traubel and Lincoln L. Eyre.

The next reunion of the association will be held in New York on May 31st, 1893.

Mr. Johnston will be pleased to correspond with those [who] feel interested in Walt Whitman and would like to attend the annual dinners.[2]

Even before the poet's death, his birthday was observed by this group of admirers, and at their seventh annual meeting, in Philadelphia in 1894, the "Walt Whitman Fellowship" was formed. Although Johnston's letter refers to it as the Whitman Reunion Association, at a meeting of the Reunion on March 23, 1894, a resolution was offered to call the group the Walt Whitman Society. When the constitution came up for approval on May 31, 1894, both the names Society and Comradeship were rejected and Fellowship was decided upon. The constitution as drafted at previous meetings was considerably simplified and "made democratic beyond the shadow of a question." Dr. Brinton was elected by the 35 members as the first president of the Fellowship, with six vice-presidents, Robert G. Ingersoll, John Burroughs, Dr. Bucke, Thomas B. Harned, Francis Howard Williams, and Dr. Isaac Hull Platt. A ten-man council, meeting on June 5, 1894, elected Horace Traubel secretary and treasurer; he was reëlected until his death in 1919.

Following the custom of the parent group, the Fellowship was to meet annually on May 31. The purpose of the organization was stated very simply, under "Object": "Its object shall be the association of all persons who are interested in the life and work of Walt Whitman." Originally, before being made "democratic," the statement read:

> Its objects shall be—1st, The consolidation within a single organization of all persons who are interested in the life and work of Walt Whitman. 2nd, The establishment of Centres in different parts of the world, which shall bring together the lovers and admirers of Whitman, and which, by the maintenance of correspondence and the exchange of views, shall tend to close fraternal relations among the members of the Society. 3rd, The publication, from time to time, of Whitman literature and of such essays and other papers as may be deemed valu-

[2] This letter is typed on three sheets of letterhead stationery of J. H. Johnston & Co., 17 Union Square, New York, established 1844. Unsigned, it seems to have been written or dictated by Johnston. It is now, with all the other unpublished material quoted in this paper, in the Whitman collection of Mr. Charles E. Feinberg, Detroit. I am also indebted for her suggestions and help to Miss Gertrude Traubel of Philadelphia, daughter of Horace and Anne Montgomerie Traubel.

able in elucidation of Whitman's philosophy of life, or in exposition of his poetry and principles.[3]

Dr. Bucke, Harned, Williams, Dr. Platt, Samuel M. Jones, and Percival Wiksell served as president after Dr. Brinton. John Burroughs declined the presidency but was vice-president for many years.

The Fellowship grew slowly but steadily. At the 1894 organizational meeting 51 were present; on Traubel's first printed list of members that year, 84 names appeared. His second list, January 15, 1895, contained 122 names; and his third, February 15, 1896, 147. The secretary reported 159 members by May 1897, and 202 in May 1898, 215 in 1899, and in the last published report—printing was stopped because of a lack of funds—the total membership of 1903 was 240. At this time the May 31 gatherings were being held at the Hotel Brevoort, Eighth Street at Fifth Avenue, New York, where they continued to meet until 1919.

In addition to these meetings of the International Fellowship, branches in several cities were formed and held conventions from time to time. The first local branch was founded in Boston late in 1894, and Traubel reported in 1895 that branches were projected in Tennessee, New York, and Philadelphia. The New York branch began in November 1895, the one in Knoxville in the summer of 1895, and the Philadelphia group in the fall of the same year. Proposed branches for Chicago, London, Liverpool, Atlanta and San Francisco were mentioned in the secretary's reports, but their establishment was not recorded up to the time such reports ceased to be printed. However, a Walt Whitman Fellowship in Chicago still exists.

Meanwhile the New York meetings on Whitman's birthday continued to attract an ever-widening audience. The afternoon session was planned with formal speeches, readings from *Leaves of Grass*, and music. Following this was a short business meeting. In the evening a dinner was held, after which came many short and completely informal talks, the reading of letters, and sometimes music.[4]

[3] See also "The Objects of the Fellowship," a page-and-a-half statement signed by Dr Brinton, Williams and Traubel, *Walt Whitman Fellowship Papers* [First Year], No. 8, pp. 49-50, October, 1894.

[4] Traubel attended all of the meetings from 1894 until 1918, when he missed the 25th session; a written notation on a copy of the 1918 program (from the Brown University Library Collection) reads: "Horace was ill & did not attend this year." No program of the 1919 meeting was printed because of Traubel's illness, but he did attend the meeting at the Hotel Brevoort. David Karsner, in *Horace Traubel: His Life and Work* (New York, 1919), p. 26, writes: "The dramatic climax of the

At the first session of the Fellowship's council, June 5, 1894, it was decided that "all leaflets or publications of whatever character should be issued as 'Walt Whitman Fellowship Papers,' in regular form, numbered." Of the 24 years of these Fellowship Papers—115 numbered (by years) and eight unnumbered—most of them are: (1) the list of officers, which is the first Paper each year; (2) the announcement of the coming meeting; (3) the program of the coming meeting; and (4) business reports of the secretary on membership, the constitution, and other matters. With the exception of three Papers of the tenth year, 1903-1904, and one in the eleventh, all of the Fellowship Papers from the sixth year, 1899-1900, through the 24th year, 1917-1918, are of this sort: a total of 57 Papers. Also, 36 other Papers deal with such problems. Of the 123 Papers, 30 may be said to make a contribution to Whitmaniana. In order of their printing, these Papers are:

First Year

Francis Howard Williams, "Walt Whitman as Deliverer."
Richard Maurice Bucke, "Memories of Walt Whitman."
John Burroughs, "Whitman's Self Reliance."
Daniel G. Brinton and Horace Traubel, "A Visit to West Hills."
Charlotte Porter and Helen A. Clarke, "A Short Reading Course in Whitman."
Horace L. Traubel, "Walt Whitman, Schoolmaster: Notes of a Conversation with Charles A. Roe, 1894."

Second Year

John Herbert Clifford, "The Fellowship of Whitman" [poem].
Oscar Lovell Triggs, "Whitman the Most Significant and Most Universal of Modern Writers."
Hamlin Garland, "Whitman and Chicago University."
Thomas B. Harned, "Whitman and the Future."
John Herbert Clifford, "The Whitman Propaganda is Whitman."
Richard Maurice Bucke, "Was Walt Whitman Mad?"
Kelly Miller, "What Whitman Means to the Negro."

Third Year

Charlotte Porter, "The American Idea in Whitman."
Edward Payson Jackson, "A Convert to Whitman."
Richard Maurice Bucke, "Memories of Walt Whitman: 2."

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evening came . . . when one of the speakers proposed that everyone stand up for a few moments in honor of Horace Traubel. As we were standing, Traubel struggled to his feet, overwhelmed by the tribute and manifestation of love and regard." He died September 8, 1919.

Fourth Year

Charlotte Abbey, "Walt Whitman's Unsung Songs."
Laurens Maynard, "Walt Whitman's Comradeship."
George J. Smith, "Whitman: Radical or Conservative?"
Wayland Hyatt Smith, "Blending of Orient and Occident in Whitman."
Gustav P. Wiksell, "Self-Primacy in Whitman."
Richard Le Gallienne, "Walt Whitman: An Address."

Fifth Year

Oscar Lovell Triggs, "Walt Whitman: A Character Study."
Laurens Maynard, "A Few Notes on Whitman and the New England Writers."
George J. Smith, "Whitman and Mannahatta."
Thomas B. Harned, "Whitman and Physique."

Tenth Year

George J. Smith, "Emerson and Whitman."
Elsa Barker, "To Walt Whitman" [poem].
Michael Monahan, "Some Remarks to the Whitman Fellowship."

Eleventh Year

George D. Herron, "Whitman as a Spiritual Liberator."

While these thirty papers may still be read for their content and value, the whole collection of Fellowship Papers is a useful record of a group of people who did much to keep alive interest and enthusiasm in Walt Whitman and his writings. These people were kept together from the beginning by Traubel, and some of the correspondence he had with them is now in the Feinberg Collection. There are, for example, 26 letters to Traubel in reply to invitations to attend the 1895 convention in Philadelphia. Robert G. Ingersoll, a vice-president of the organization until his death in 1899, sent this telegram from New York:

MAY 21, 1895

HORACE L. TRAUBEL
CAMDEN
I WILL TRY TO BE WITH YOU ON THE THIRTY FIRST
R. G. INGERSOLL

Laurens Maynard wrote on his personal letterhead :

East Weymouth, Mass.,
May. 24, 1895

Dear Horace,

I have just received notice of the Fellowship meeting. At the moment I am making my arrangements to be present but I cannot say positively that I shall be

there as my business here may prevent me at the last moment. Still my going now looks much more probable than at any time since I have thought of it and I am working nights to get my work here in shape so that I can leave it.

With love to you and yours,
Maynard

Harned sent this typed note from his law office:

Phila., May 9th, 1895.

Mr. H. L. Traubel,
Camden, N. J.,
My dear Sir:—

It makes no difference to me whether I read or speak on the 31st. If I am to speak I would like to know what phase of the subject I shall be expected to talk about.

Very truly yours,
T. B. Harned

Another member wrote:

Telford, Bucks Co. Pa.
May 24th 1895

My dear Mr. Traubel;

The invitation to "the public," meets my hearty approval. I expect to be present at the dinner on the evening of the 31st. If thee has not sent an invitation to Mrs. Mary O. Davis (434 Berkley St. Camden, N. J.) and Mrs. Samuel Loag (3210 Race St. West Phila. Pa.) will thee please do so, as soon as thee receives this. I would like to distribute several copies of papers no. 4 & no. 6 also object of Fellowship (paper) & paper on membership. If thee would give me an idea of the cost of printing each &c. I would like to make some small "donation" to cover expense of all I might wish.

Thine sincerely
Emily J. Ingram

And from the Statistical Society of Howard University, Washington, D. C., came these two letters:

Howard University,
Washington, D. C.,
May 11th, 1895.

Mr. Horace Traubel,
Secretary etc,
Dear Sir:—

I am in receipt of your kind invitation to be present at the annual meeting of the Whitman Fellowship. I hope to be able to attend.

It may be deemed necessary for me to state that I am a colored man, and am drawn to Whitman very largely because of the adaptability of his gospel to the

needs of my race. Altho' he has "no school, no philosophy," yet he is adapted to all who suffer, love and enjoy.

If opportunity permit, I would like to say a word at the meeting upon this aspect of our great Comrade.

Please give me full details as to the arrangements for the meeting.

Yours truly,
Kelly Miller

Howard University,
Washington, D. C.,
May 16th 1895

Mr. Horace Traubel,
Dear Sir:—

The theme of my remarks will be "What Walt Whitman Means to the Negro." Please let me know how many minutes I will be expected to occupy, also the expense of the dinner.

Yours truly,
Kelly Miller.

Kelly Miller's speech, read at the afternoon session on May 31, 1895, was published as Fellowship Paper No. 10, pp. 31-41, of the Second Year, in November 1895. He also became one of the directors of the Fellowship, serving on the council from 1903 until the final meeting of the group in 1919.

Horace Traubel was ill in 1918 and died in 1919; America was involved in the first World War; and perhaps because it had served well its purpose after 25 years, the Walt Whitman Fellowship went out of existence—at least as far as annual conventions and publications were concerned. But there is no question that the organization did more than its share between 1894 and 1919 to promote Whitman as man and artist. Although they were quite different from Whitman in almost every way, such American writers as Thoreau, Melville and Emily Dickinson might have had an earlier acceptance had they had "sponsors" such as this Whitman group. It is unimportant whether Whitman would have become America's greatest literary figure in any event: the Walt Whitman Fellowship felt so then. Others have only come to feel so since.

Given here is the complete list of 123 Walt Whitman Fellowship Papers, 1894-1918. Though some of the Papers have turned up in Whitman exhibitions, collections and catalogues,[5] this is the first time the bib-

[5] For example, *An Exhibition of the Works of Walt Whitman . . . Detroit Public Library* (Detroit, 1945) lists 64 numbers, without authors or titles, under Item 240: 1st year, no. 1-15; 2nd year, no. 1-12; 3rd year, no. 1-4; 4th year, no. 1-11;

liography has ever been published in full. The Papers are printed in black ink on sheets measuring about 6½ by 9½ (or 6¾ by 9¾) inches, with the following exceptions: (1) The Treasurer's Memoranda (1894) is on a 5⅛ by 8 inch sheet; (2) the announcement and program of 1895 are printed in green ink on 6 by 9½ inch sheets; (3) amendments to the constitution (1896) are printed on a 6 by 9⅛ inch sheet; (4) the program of 1896 is printed in green ink on a 6 by 5½ inch gray cardboard; (5) the heading for Paper No. 1 for the Fourth through the Ninth Years (1897-1902) is printed in red ink; (6) the programs for the Eighth and Tenth Years (1901 and 1903) are printed on gray paper; (7) the program of the 1901 convention is printed on a 5 by 15 inch gray sheet; and (8) the six Papers of the Tenth Year (1903) are printed on 5½ by 5¾ inch pages. All of the unsigned Papers may be assumed to be the work of Horace Traubel.

WALT WHITMAN FELLOWSHIP PAPERS: CONTENTS

First Year

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Officers Elected at the Organization Meeting Held in Philadelphia, May 31, 1894, p. 1, [p. 2, blank].
2. Organization, pp. 3-6, June, 1894 [notes from *The Conservator*, June, 1894; mostly from Traubel's minutes].
3. Constitution, pp. 7-9, [quotations from Whitman, p. 10], June, 1894.
4. Francis Howard Williams, "Walt Whitman as Deliverer," pp. 11-30, August, 1894 [read at the meeting of the Walt Whitman Re-Union, Philadelphia, January 27, 1894].
5. Members: August 25, pp. 31-33, [quotations from Whitman, p. 34], August, 1894.
6. Richard Maurice Bucke, "Memories of Walt Whitman," pp. 35-45, [quotations from Whitman, p. 46], September, 1894 [read at the organization meeting, May 31, 1894].
7. Publication Fund [signed by Joseph Fels, Horace L. Traubel, and Frank H. MacIntire], pp. 47-48, September, 1894, [on separate sheet: Treasurer's Memoranda].
8. The Objects of the Fellowship [signed by Daniel G. Brinton, Francis Howard Williams, and Horace L. Traubel], pp. 49-50, October, 1894.

5th year, no. 1-6, 8, 9; 6th year, no. 1, 3; 7th year, no. 1, 3, all from Rutgers University; and *Walt Whitman: A Catalog Based Upon the Collections of The Library of Congress* (Washington, 1955) lists 25 numbers under Item 775: 1st year, no. 2-4, 6-10; 2nd year, no. 2-5, 7-11; 3rd year, no. 1-5; 4th year, no. 1, 3; 6th year, no. 3.

9. John Burroughs, "Whitman's Self Reliance," pp. 51-58, November, 1894 [read by Traubel at the meeting of the Walt Whitman Re-Union, Philadelphia, March 23, 1894].
10. Daniel G. Brinton and Horace L. Traubel, "A Visit to West Hills," pp. 59-66, December, 1894.
11. Laurens Maynard, "Organization of the Boston Branch," pp. 67-68, January, 1895.
12. Members: January 15, pp. 69-72, January, 1895.
13. Charlotte Porter and Helen A. Clarke, "A Short Reading Course in Whitman," pp. 73-79, [quotations from Whitman, p. 80], February, 1895 [reprinted from *Poet-Lore*, which Miss Porter and Miss Clarke edited].
14. Horace L. Traubel, "Walt Whitman, Schoolmaster: Notes of a Conversation with Charles A. Roe, 1894," pp. 81-87, [quotations from Whitman, p. 88], April, 1895.
15. Contents First Year: 1894-5, p. 89, [quotations from Whitman, p. 90].

Second Year

Frontispiece: [portrait of Whitman from a daguerreotype, 1850-55], 1895-6.

Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Meeting, Philadelphia, May 31, 1895 [announcement].

Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Philadelphia, May 31, 1895: First Annual Meeting: Seventh [error for eighth] Celebration of Walt Whitman's Birthday [program].

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Officers Elected at the Second Annual Meeting Held in Philadelphia, May 31, 1895, p. 1, [p. 2, blank].
2. John Herbert Clifford, "The Fellowship of Whitman" [poem], pp. 3-4, November, 1895 [read at the afternoon session, May 31, 1895].
3. Horace L. Traubel, "Second Annual Meeting: May Thirty-First," pp. 5-7, [quotation from Whitman, p. 8], November, 1895.
4. Boston Branch Report: May Thirty-First, pp. 9-10, November, 1895.
5. Oscar Lovell Triggs, "Whitman the Most Significant and Most Universal of Modern Writers," pp. 11-12, November, 1895 [letter read at the afternoon session, May 31, 1895].
6. Hamlin Garland, "Whitman and Chicago University" [letter, reprinted from *The Conservator*, June, 1895], p. 13, [quotations from Whitman, p. 14], November, 1895.
7. Thomas B. Harned, "Whitman and the Future," pp. 15-18, November, 1895 [read at the afternoon session, May 31, 1895].
8. John Herbert Clifford, "The Whitman Propaganda Is Whitman," pp. 19-22, November, 1895 [read at the afternoon session, May 31, 1895].

9. Richard Maurice Bucke, "Was Walt Whitman Mad?" pp. 23-30, November, 1895 [read by Thomas B. Harned at the afternoon session, May 31, 1895].
10. Kelly Miller, "What Walt Whitman Means to the Negro," pp. 31-41, [quotation from Whitman, p. 42], November, 1895 [address, afternoon session, May 31, 1895]; [on separate sheet: To the Friends of Walt Whitman: an announcement (by Traubel) of the first meeting of the Philadelphia branch of the Walt Whitman Fellowship].
11. Members: February 15, pp. 43-47, [quotation from Whitman, p. 48], February, 1896 [on separate sheet: Notice of Amendments to the constitution].
12. Contents Second Year: 1895-6, p. 49, [quotation from Whitman, p. 50], June, 1896.

Third Year

Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Boston, May 31, 1896: Third Annual Meeting: Ninth Celebration of Walt Whitman's Birthday [program].

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Officers Elected at the Third Annual Meeting, Held in Boston, May 31, 1896, p. 1, [p. 2, blank].
2. Constitution as Revised May 31, pp. 3-5, [quotation from Whitman, p. 6], July, 1896.
3. Horace L. Traubel, "Annual Meeting: Boston, May 31," pp. 7-13, [quotation from Whitman, p. 14], July, 1896.
4. Horace L. Traubel, "A Question of Finances Submitted to the Membership," pp. 15-16, November, 1896.
5. Horace L. Traubel, "Annual Meeting: Election of Officers," pp. 17-18, April, 1897.
6. Charlotte Porter, "The American Idea in Whitman," pp. 19-26, April, 1897 [read at the afternoon session, May 31, 1896].
7. Horace L. Traubel, "Announcement of the Annual Meeting in Philadelphia," pp. 27-28, May, 1897.
8. Edward Payson Jackson, "A Convert to Whitman" [read at the afternoon session, May 31, 1896], pp. 29-31, [quotation from Whitman, p. 32], May, 1897.
9. Program: Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, May 31, p. 33, [quotation from Daniel G. Brinton to the Fellowship, p. 34], May, 1897.
10. Richard Maurice Bucke, "Memories of Walt Whitman: 2," pp. 35-42, May, 1897 [read at the annual meeting, May 31, 1895].
11. Contents Third Year: 1896-7, p. 43, [quotation from Whitman, p. 44], June, 1897.

Fourth Year

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Officers Elected at the Fourth Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, May 31, 1897, p. 1, [p. 2, blank]; [on separate sheet: Boston Branch of The Walt Whitman Fellowship: Programme, Fourth Session, 1897-98: Personality in Whitman].
2. The Secretary [Horace L. Traubel], "Annual Meeting: Philadelphia, May 31," pp. 3-6, April, 1898.
3. Charlotte Abbey, "Walt Whitman's Unsung Songs," pp. 7-10, April, 1898 [read at the afternoon session, May 31, 1897].
4. The Secretary [Horace L. Traubel], "Convention Notice: 1898," pp. 11-12, April, 1898.
5. Laurens Maynard, "Walt Whitman's Comradeship" [read at the afternoon session, May 31, 1897], pp. 13-19, [quotation from Whitman, p. 20], April, 1898.
6. George J. Smith, "Whitman: Radical or Conservative?" pp. 21-37, [quotation from Whitman, p. 38], May, 1898.
7. Wayland Hyatt Smith, "Blending of Orient and Occident in Whitman," pp. 39-40, May, 1898 [read at the afternoon session, May 31, 1897].
8. Gustav P. Wiksell, "Self-Primacy in Whitman," pp. 41-42, May, 1898 [read at the afternoon session, May 31, 1897].
9. The Secretary [Horace L. Traubel], "Program of Annual Meeting, New York, May 31," pp. 43-44, May, 1898.
10. Richard Le Gallienne, "Walt Whitman: An Address" [read at the meeting of the New York branch, March 12, 1898], pp. 45-49, [quotation from Whitman, p. 50], May, 1898.
11. Contents Fourth Year: 1897-8, p. 51, [quotation from Whitman, p. 52], May, 1898.

Fifth Year

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Officers Elected at the Fifth Annual Meeting, Philadelphia [error for New York], May 31, 1898, p. 1, [p. 2, blank].
2. The Secretary [Horace L. Traubel], "Annual Meeting: New York, May 31," pp. 3-6, May, 1899.
3. Oscar Lovell Triggs, "Walt Whitman: A Character Study," pp. 7-22, April, 1899 [read at the meeting of the Walt Whitman Fellowship: International, May 31, 1898].
4. The Sixth Annual Meeting, pp. 23-24, May, 1899 [announcement].
5. Laurens Maynard, "A Few Notes on Whitman and the New England Writers," pp. 25-34, April, 1899 [read at the meeting of the Walt Whitman Fellowship: International, May 31, 1898].

6. George J. Smith, "Whitman and Mannahatta," pp. 35-40, May, 1899 [read at the meeting of the Walt Whitman Fellowship: International, May 31, 1898].
7. The Secretary [Horace L. Traubel], "Program of Sixth Annual Meeting, Boston, May 31," pp. 41-42, May, 1899.
8. Thomas B. Harned, "Whitman and Physique" [read at the meeting of the Walt Whitman Fellowship: International, May 31, 1898], pp. 43-53, [quotation from Whitman, p. 54], May, 1899.
9. Contents Fifth Year: 1898-9, p. 55, [quotation from Whitman, p. 56], May, 1899.

Sixth Year

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Officers Elected at the Sixth Annual Meeting, Boston, May 31, 1899, p. 1, [p. 2, blank].
2. The Secretary [Horace L. Traubel], "Annual Meeting: Boston, May 31," pp. 3-6, June, 1899.
3. Concerning the Convention at Philadelphia: May 31, 1900, pp. 7-8, May, 1900.

Seventh Year

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Officers Elected at the Seventh Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, May 31, 1900, p. 1, [p. 2, blank].
2. The Secretary's Notes on the Convention in Philadelphia, May 31, 1900, pp. 3-6, May, 1901 [220 members now in the group; Fellowship Papers not brought up to date because of a lack of funds].
3. Concerning the Convention at New York: May 31, 1901, pp. 7-8, May, 1901.

Eighth Year

Eighth Annual Convention of the Walt Whitman Fellowship: International, at the Hotel St. Denis, New York, May Thirty First, Nineteen Hundred One [program].

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Officers Elected at the Eighth Annual Meeting, New York, May 31, 1901, p. 1, [p. 2, blank].
2. With Reference to the Ninth Convention, at New York, May 31, pp. 3-4, May, 1902.

Ninth Year

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Officers Elected at the Ninth Annual Meeting, New York, May 31, 1902, p. 1, [p. 2, blank].
2. Convention Notice: 1903, pp. 3-4, May, 1903.

Tenth Year

Tenth Annual Convention of the Walt Whitman Fellowship: International, at

the Hotel Lafayette-Brevoort, New York, May Thirty First, Nineteen Hundred Three [program].

1. Horace Traubel, "Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Council: Notes on the Annual Meeting of 1903," pp. 1-8, May, 1903-4 [still no money for the publication of Papers].
2. Horace Traubel, "The Annual Meeting of 1904: Announcement," pp. 9-12.
3. George J. Smith, "Emerson and Whitman," pp. 13-22.
4. Horace Traubel, "The Annual Meeting of 1904: Program," pp. 23-26.
5. Elsa Barker, "To Walt Whitman" [poem], pp. 27-34.
6. Michael Monahan, "Some Remarks to the Whitman Fellowship," pp. 35-38.

Eleventh Year

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Officers Elected at the Eleventh Annual Meeting, New York, May 31, 1904, p. 1, [p. 2, blank], April, 1905.
2. Horace Traubel, "The Annual Meeting of 1905: Announcement," p. 3, [p. 4, blank], April, 1905.
3. George D. Herron, "Whitman as a Spiritual Liberator," pp. 5-8, May, 1905.

Twelfth Year

Twelfth Annual Convention of the Walt Whitman Fellowship: International, at the Hotel Lafayette-Brevoort, New York, May Thirty First, Nineteen Hundred Five [program].

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Officers Elected at the Twelfth Annual Meeting, New York, May 31, 1905, p. 1, [quotation from Whitman, p. 2], April, 1906.
2. Horace Traubel, "The Annual Meeting of 1906: Announcement," pp. 3-4, April, 1906.
3. Thirteenth Annual Convention of the Walt Whitman Fellowship: International, at the Hotel Lafayette-Brevoort, New York, May 31, pp. 5-6, May, 1906 [program].

Thirteenth Year

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Officers Elected at the Thirteenth Annual Meeting, New York, May 31, 1906, p. 1, [quotation from Whitman, p. 2], May, 1907.
2. Horace Traubel, "The Annual Meeting of 1907: Announcement," pp. 3-4, May, 1907.
3. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Program for the Thirteenth

Annual Meeting, at Hotel Brevoort, New York, May 31, pp. 5-6, May, 1907 [Traubel was off on his numbering during the next six years; this program was for the fourteenth annual meeting].

Fourteenth Year

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Officers Elected at the Fourteenth Annual Meeting, New York, May 31, 1906, p. 1, [quotation from Whitman, p. 2], May, 1908.
2. Horace Traubel, "The Annual Meeting of 1908: Announcement," pp. 3-4, May, 1908.
3. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Program for the Fourteenth Annual Meeting at the Hotel Brevoort, New York, May 31, pp. 5-6, May, 1908.

Fifteenth Year

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Officers Elected at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting, in New York, May 31, 1908, p. 1, [quotation from Whitman, p. 2], May, 1909.
2. Horace Traubel, "The Annual Meeting of 1909: Announcement," pp. 3-4, May, 1909.
3. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Program for the Fifteenth Annual Meeting at the Hotel Brevoort, New York, May 31, pp. 5-6, May, 1909.

Sixteenth Year

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Officers Elected at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting, in New York, May 31, 1909, p. 1, [quotation from Whitman, p. 2], May, 1910 [actually this was the sixteenth meeting].
2. Horace Traubel, "The Annual Meeting of 1910: Announcement," pp. 3-4, May, 1910.
3. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Program for the Sixteenth Annual Meeting at the Hotel Brevoort, New York, May 31, pp. 5-6, May, 1910.

Seventeenth Year

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Officers Elected at the Sixteenth Annual Meeting, in New York, May 31, 1910, p. 1, [quotation from Whitman, p. 2], May, 1911 [actually this was the seventeenth meeting].
2. Horace Traubel, "The Annual Meeting of 1911: Announcement," pp. 3-4, May, 1911.
3. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Program for the Seventeenth

Annual Meeting at the Hotel Brevoort, New York, May 31, pp. 5-6, May, 1911.

Eighteenth Year

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Officers Elected at the Eighteenth Annual Meeting, in New York, May 31, 1911, p. 1, [quotation from Whitman, p. 2], May, 1912.
2. Horace Traubel, "The Annual Meeting of 1912: Announcement," pp. 3-4, May, 1912.
3. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Program for the Eighteenth Annual Meeting at the Hotel Brevoort, New York, May 31, pp. 5-6, May, 1912.

Nineteenth Year

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Officers Elected at the Nineteenth Annual Meeting, in New York, May 31, 1912, p. 1, [quotation from Whitman, p. 2], May, 1913.
2. Horace Traubel, "The Annual Meeting of 1913: Announcement," pp. 3-4, May, 1913.
3. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Program for the Twentieth Annual Meeting at the Hotel Brevoort, New York, May 31, pp. 5-6, May, 1913.

Twentieth Year

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Officers Elected at the Twentieth Annual Meeting, in New York, May 31, 1913, p. 1, [quotation from Whitman, p. 2], May, 1914.
2. Horace Traubel, "The Annual Meeting of 1914: Announcement," pp. 3-4, May, 1914.

[3.] The Twenty-First Annual Convention of the Walt Whitman Fellowship: Hotel Brevoort: New York, May Thirty-First: Nineteen Hundred Fourteen [program].

Twenty-first Year

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Officers Elected at the Twenty First Annual Meeting, in New York, May 31, 1914, p. 1, [quotation from Whitman, p. 2], May, 1915.
2. Horace Traubel, "The Annual Meeting of 1915: Announcement," pp. 3-4, May, 1915.
3. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Program for the Twenty Second Annual Meeting at the Hotel Brevoort, New York, May 31, pp. 5-6, May, 1915.

Twenty-second Year

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Officers Elected at the Twenty Second Annual Meeting, in New York, May 31, 1915, p. 1, [quotation from Whitman, p. 2], May, 1916.
2. Horace Traubel, "The Annual Meeting of 1916: Announcement," pp. 3-4, May, 1916.
3. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Program for the Twenty Third Annual Meeting at the Hotel Brevoort, New York, May 31, pp. 5-6, May, 1916 [on separate sheet: Walt Whitman Fellowship: Canadian: Program for the First Annual Meeting at McConkey's Restaurant, 33 Queen St. West, Toronto, May 31, May, 1916].

Twenty-third Year

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Officers Elected at the Twenty Third Annual Meeting, in New York, May 31, 1916, p. 1, [quotation from Whitman, p. 2], May, 1917.
2. Horace Traubel, "The Annual Meeting of 1917: Announcement," pp. 3-4, May, 1917.
3. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Program for the Twenty Fourth Annual Meeting at the Hotel Brevoort, New York, May 31, pp. 5-6, May, 1917.

Twenty-fourth Year

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Officers Elected at the Twenty Fourth Annual Meeting, in New York, May 31, 1917, p. 1, [quotation from Whitman, p. 2], May, 1918.
2. Horace Traubel, "The Annual Meeting of 1918: Announcement," pp. 3-4, May, 1918.
3. Walt Whitman Fellowship: International: Program for the Twenty Fifth Annual Meeting at the Hotel Brevoort, New York, May 31, pp. 5-6, May, 1918.

WILLIAM WHITE

Wayne State University

The Authorship of "Cato Examin'd" (1713)

A considerable amount of critical attention followed the appearance of Addison's *Cato* at the end of April, 1713.[1] Besides notices in periodicals, at least three pamphlets examine it in detail. The most important of these is

[1] The play was produced April 14 and published about April 27 (a third edition is announced in the *Daily Courant* for April 29).

Dennis's *Remarks upon Cato,* published in July.[2] A fierce attack, it contains much critical insight obscured by bad temper. George Sewell's *Observations upon Cato,* which appeared almost simultaneously with the printed play, is laudatory.[3] The third pamphlet, *Cato Examin'd: Or, Animadversions on the Fable or Plot, Manners, Sentiments, and Diction of the New Tragedy of Cato,* which I shall attribute to Charles Gildon, appeared also at the end of April.[4] The advertisements for both Sewell's work and *Cato Examin'd,* which appeared side by side in the *Post-Man,* afforded the reader a choice between a "modern" critique which pays lip service to Aristotle but which emphasizes the sentiments and diction, and a conservative critique which is dogmatically Aristotelian but which fails to connect very successfully these Aristotelian principles with the play. Both Dennis's *Remarks* and *Cato Examin'd* analyze *Cato* by following the conventional procedure, discussing fable, manners, sentiments and diction in that order. Dennis does not complete this scheme in the *Remarks,* and he interprets Aristotle as he goes, separating those imperfections which arise from Addison's not observing the rules from those which arise from his observing them "without Judgement or Discretion."[5] *Cato Examin'd* discusses all of the parts of tragedy and finds, with some wavering, *Cato* excellent in all.

Charles Gildon's critical principle throughout his mature life was that a rigorous and "mechanick" application of classical rules was necessary to restore English tragedy and English letters in general to their former greatness. After several relatively imaginative essays attacking the rules in *Miscellaneous Letters and Essays* (1694),[6] Gildon became a latterday Rymer. As he grew older, Gildon was aware that the literary public was not profiting from his frequent exposition of the rules. His solution to this was to paraphrase at greater and greater length the rigid neo-classical views of his "Essay on the Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage" (1710).[7] The "Essay" is the first detailed statement of what was to be Gildon's

[2] Advertised as "this day" in the *Post-Man,* July 7-9. But see *The Critical Works of John Dennis,* edited by Edward Niles Hooker (Baltimore, 1939-1943), II, 447.

[3] *Observations upon Cato, a Tragedy. By Mr. Addison. In a Letter to* ***. London, Printed for A. Baldwin ... M.DCC.XIII. Advertised in the *Post-Man* for April 25-28 as ready "Thursday next."

[4] London, Printed for John Pemberton ... MDCCXIII. This is advertised in the *Post-Man* for April 30-May 2 along with a second, enlarged edition of *Observations upon Cato.*

[5] *Critical Works of John Dennis,* II, 44.

[6] London, Printed for Benjamin Bragg ... 1694. This phase of Gildon's critical career is discussed by J. C. Maxwell, "Charles Gildon and the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns," *RES,* new series, I (1950), 55-57.

[7] Prefaced to a piratical seventh volume of Rowe's *Shakespeare,* 1710.

lifelong critical point of view. A large section of this work is inserted with little alteration into *Cato Examin'd*. The same dogmatic principles and occasionally the same asides and incidental allusions displayed in both of these works are used to flail Rowe's *Jane Shore* in *A New Rehearsal, or Bays the Younger* (1714),[8] Gildon's most lively critical production. Gildon did not decline gracefully from the occasionally witty *New Rehearsal*. *The Complete Art of Poetry* (1718)[9] repeats with scarcely a modification the whole thesis in ponderous dialogue at about twice the length. The material is finally rearranged in the last years of Gildon's life as an exegesis —lengthy enough to be of the scriptures—of Buckinghamshire's "Essay on Poetry" in *The Laws of Poetry* (1721).[10] This wholesale use with little change of his own material was not dictated solely or even largely by Gildon's haste or by his constant financial distress. He saw little need to change his ideas with the times. Aristotle was right (and obvious); the age was in error. And as it sank deeper in error, Gildon's personality changed. A petulant and bitter tone characterizes his later works.

The relationship of Gildon's "Essay on the Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage" to *Cato Examin'd* can best be demonstrated by comparing the passages in the two works which take up the nature of tragedy. Though *Cato Examin'd* follows the "Essay" systematically, it is shorter and considerable material is omitted. But the significant parts of the "Essay" (as quoted in the first column below) are inserted in *Cato Examin'd* (the second column) with scarcely any change:

For as *Tragedy* is the Imitation of an *Action*, so there are no *Actions* without the *Manners*, since the *Manners* are the cause of Actions. By the *Manners* we discover the Inclinations of the Speaker, what Part, Side, or Course he will take on any important and difficult Emergence; and know how he will behave himself before we see his Actions. Thus we know from the Manners of *Achilles* what Answer he will give the Ambassadors of *Agamemnon* by what the Poet has told us of his *Heroe*. And when *Mercury* brings *Jove*'s Orders to

For as *Tragedy* is the Imitation of an Action, so there are no *Actions* without the *Manners*, since they are the Cause of *Actions*. The Inclinations of the *Dramatic* Person are discover'd by the *Manners*; by them we see what he will pursue, what Course or Part he will take on any Emergence of Importance. Thus from the *Manners* of *Achilles*, we are prepar'd for his Answer to the Messengers of *Agamemnon*: Thus we know the Obedience of *Æneas* to *Mercury*, from his Manners of Piety; which must induce him to submit to

[8] London, Printed for J. Roberts . . . MDCCXIV.

[9] London, Printed for Charles Rivington . . . MDCCXVIII.

[10] London, Printed for J. Morley . . . M DCC XXI.

Æneas, we know that the *Piety* of the Heroe will prevail over *Love*: And the Character of *Oedipus* makes us expect his extravagant Passions, and the Excessess [*sic*] he will commit by his Obstinacy. Those Discourses therefore that do not do this are without the *Manners*. (p. xxxiii)

For Tragedy is in Imitation of an *Action*, not of Men, whence it follows that *Action* constitutes the *Tragedy*; and *that there can be no TRAGEDY where there is no ACTION*. The *Good* or Evil Fortune of Man depends on their *Actions*, and the End, that every Man proposes to himself is an *Action* not a *Quality*; What Qualities Men pursue are only as Mediums to some Action. Thus the general End that Mankind propose is to live happily, but to live happily is an Action not a Quality. Man being therefore happy or miserable by his *Actions* not *Manners*, or *Qualities* Tragedy proposes not to imitate the *Manners*, but adds them for the production of Actions. So that the Fable (which is the Imitation of the Action) being the End of *Tragedy* it must be the most importance [*sic*], and chiefly to be consider'd, for so the End in all things is. (pp. xxxi-xxxii)

The true *Beginning* of an Action is that, which does not necessarily require, or suppose any thing before it, as Part of that Action. Thus the Beginning of an *Epic* or *Dramatic* Poem may be the Sequel of another Action: for the Quarrel of *Agamemnon* and *Achilles*, which is the beginning of the *Action* of the *Ilias*, is *Agamemnon*'s Injustice, which provok'd the Anger

the Will of the Gods, to the Prejudice of his Love. The Violence of the Character of *Oedipus*, prepares us to expect extravagant Passions, and the Excess, which his Obstinacy will prompt him to be guilty of. Whatever Discourse in Tragedy does not this, wants the Manners, and cannot be *Dramatic*. (pp. 5-6)

For *Tragedy* being the Imitation of an Action, it plainly appears, that Action constitutes the Tragedy, and must therefore be the Chief Part; since there can be no Tragedy, where there is no Action. The Good and Evil Fortune of Men depends on their Actions; and the End propos'd by every Man to himself, is an *Action*, not a *Quality*; and what Qualities Men pursue, are only as *Mediums* to some *Action*. Thus the General End that Mankind propose, is to live happily: But to live happily, is an *Action*, not a *Quality*. Man being therefore Happy or Miserable by his *Actions*, not *Manners* or Qualities; Tragedy proposes not to imitate the *Manners*, but adds them for the Production of *Action*: So that the End in all Things being of the greatest Importance, the Fable must be so in *Tragedy*. (p. 5)

The true *Beginning* of an Action, is that, which does not necessarily require or suppose any thing before it, as Part of that *Action*. But the *Beginning* of an *Epic* or *Dramatic* Poem, may be the Sequel of another Action. *Agamemnon*'s Injustice is the Beginning of the Quarrel between him and *Achilles*, the *Action* of the *Ilias*, all Things being before quiet in the

of *Achilles*, when all was quiet before in the Camp; so we may consider this Affair the Sequel of, but not depending necessarily on any thing precedent, tho' it come not to pass without it; and requires something else to follow it, depending on it, present or remote. The Retreat of *Achilles* to the Ships, the *Trojans* routing the *Greeks* on that Retreat were the present Effects of his Anger; the Remote the Death of *Patroclus*, Reconcilement of *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* and the Death of *Hector*. . . (p. xxxvi)

Camp. Thus we may suppose this the Sequel of, but not depending necessarily on any thing precedent, tho' it came not to pass without it, and requires something else to follow depending on it, present or remote. The present Effects of the Anger of *Achilles* was his Retreat to the Ships, and the Success of the *Trojans*, and Slaughter and Rout of the *Greeks* upon it, and the Death of *Patroclus*, and *Hector*; and the Reconcilement of *Achilles* and *Agamemnon* were the remote. (pp. 6-7)

The *Middle* is that which necessarily supposes something gone before, and something to follow; thus all the Evils, that the Anger of *Achilles* produc'd necessarily suppose that Anger, as their *Cause*, and *Beginning*, from whence they did proceed. So these Evils, that is the *Middle* producing the Satisfaction and Revenge of *Achilles* in the Death of Hector, furnish'd the *End* in his Relenting at the Misery of *Priam*. This is a perfect Example of an *Epic* and *Dramatic* Action, and shews, that the Poet cannot *begin*, or *end* it when he pleases, if he wou'd manage his Subject, with true Oeconomy, and Beauty. (p. xxxvii)

The *Middle* necessarily supposes something gone before, and something to follow. Thus all the Evils, that the Anger of *Achilles* produced, necessarily supposed that Anger as their *Cause* and *Beginning*, from whence they did proceed; so these Evils (which make the *Middle*) producing the Satisfaction and Revenge of *Achilles* in the Death of *Hector* furnish'd the *End* in his relenting at the Misery of *Priam*. This is the most perfect Example of an *Epic* and *Dramatic* Action, and which demonstrates, that a Poet cannot begin and end it when he pleases, if he wou'd manage his Subject with true Oeconomy and Beauty. (p. 7)

These are the most conspicuous of the passages showing close parallels, but many other paragraphs, sentences, and phrases in *Cato Examin'd* indicate that the author was hastily extracting his critical principles from the "Essay."[11] This in itself, of course, does not make Gildon the author of *Cato Examin'd*. Parallels in authors cited, characters mentioned, allusions —in the light weapons of the critic's arsenal—in Gildon's later works are more convincing. Otway is similarly praised in *Cato Examin'd* (p. 20),

[11] The jerry-built construction of Gildon's essay was not lost on Dennis, who points out that what Gildon quotes from Aristotle condemns rather than supports what he finds in *Cato* (*Critical Works of John Dennis*, II, 42).

in *The Complete Art of Poetry* (I, 237, 244, 248), and in *The Laws of Poetry* (pp. 201, 211-212). Corneille is criticized for using admiration as the major emotion of a tragedy (*Cato Ex.*, p. 4; *Complete Art*, I, 237). Raphael's "Battle of Constantine" is used as a parallel between literature and the fine arts to illustrate unity of action (*Cato Ex.*, p. 4; *Complete Art*, I, 225, 230). In *Cato Examin'd* (p. 9) there is the passage: "But such scandalous Villanies, as are brought on our Stage, are fitter for the Hangman's Correction, than that of the Muse." In *The Laws of Poetry* (pp. 238-239) this is stated: "Our stage indeed is full of those villainous *characters*, which are properly to be punish'd only by the hangman, and not by the poet."[12] Euripides' chaste version of the Helen story appeals to Gildon (*Cato Ex.*, pp. 17-18; *Complete Art*, I, 200; *New Rehearsal*, p. 69). To document the statement "a Prince must not have the Manners of a Porter, a Princess those of a Prostitute" in *Cato Examin'd* (p. 10) the author holds up as badly drawn characters Nourmahal in *Aureng-Zebe* and "many of *Fletcher*'s Queens and Ladies of Quality." This is repeated in *The Complete Art* (I, 220, 221) and *The Laws* (pp. 228, 229-230).

These and many other echoes in phrasing and illustrative material constitute a stronger claim for Gildon's authorship of *Cato Examin'd* than the longer passages above which were "lifted" from the "Essay on the Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage." Would Gildon have plagiarized so obviously from himself? The answer to this question is that repeating and reworking material is Gildon's critical method, at least from the "Essay" of 1710 to the end of his life. (Certain earlier works like the preface to his play *Phaeton* [1698] are affected by the shifting of his critical views from the "modernist" position of 1694 and are less rigidly Aristotelian.)

Professor John Robert Moore in an article attributing *The Groans of Great Britain* (1713), a political tract, to Gildon says: "One of the most marked characteristics of Gildon's writings was his repetition of favorite phrases or passages. If he used material one time, he was likely to employ it again." And later: "The repetitions in Gildon sometimes involve only phrases or brief statements, but they sometimes extend to passages of many pages."[13] To support these statements Professor Moore quotes passages from *The Golden Spy* (1709), *The Post-Man Robb'd of his Mail* (1719) and *The Laws of Poetry* which are used in *The Groans of Great Britain*. More than forty-five such passages can be found. "There are very

[12] Cf. Gildon's *Remarks on Mr. Rowe's Tragedy of the Lady Jane Gray* . . . London, Printed for J. Roberts . . . 1715, "Remarks," p. 11.

[13] "*The Groans of Great Britain:* an Unassigned Tract by Charles Gildon," *PBSA*, 40 (1946), 27.

strong reasons," says Professor Moore, "for considering the author a zealot or a crank rather than a thief: (1) *The Groans of Great Britain* is a consistent expression of very strongly held views. (2) Those views were among the least likely to advance the popularity of the author or the sale of the tract" (p. 31).

These two observations can be raised to the level of principles and applied to Gildon's career as a critic. His dogmatism and his lack of interest in popularity increased with the years and are not so evident in the period 1713-1715. But while the espousing of Addison's *Cato* could not have hurt Gildon's reputation, his method of doing it by alleging that the play followed all the classical rules was certain to class the author of the pamphlet as a reactionary and obsolete critical thinker. Gildon's reason for plagiarizing his "Essay" of 1710 was that he thought it was impregnably argued and clearly right and that only such alterations were necessary as suited the purpose of the moment. Gildon's views were "strongly held" and he believed that the "repetition of favorite phrases or passages" was the quickest and the most effective way of asserting them. In *Cato Examin'd* it was necessary to condense the material of the "Essay on the Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage"; in *The Art of Poetry* it was necessary to expand it and in *The Laws of Poetry* to rearrange it. But it is the same material and the same guiding hand.

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Four Possible Additions to Hawthorne's "Story Teller"

The excellent bibliographical reconstruction of Hawthorne's early literary projects by Professor Nelson Adkins has been of immense value to students of Hawthorne.[1] His article has not only enabled subsequent investigators to gain a deeper insight into Hawthorne's development, but has also enabled them better to understand the hitherto obscured intention in some of the tales.

Perhaps the most fruitful portion of Professor Adkins' article is his ingenious (although admittedly partial) resurrection of *The Story Teller*, the third and most ambitious of Hawthorne's ill-starred literary projects. We now know that the eighteen pieces which appeared in the *New England Magazine*, and the three (possibly four) which appeared in the *Amer-*

[1] "The Early Projected Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne," *PBSA*, 39 (1945), 119-155.

ican Monthly Magazine were all originally part of *The Story Teller*.[2] These pieces, however, as Adkins recognizes, can hardly comprise the whole of the collection. Elizabeth Peabody, Hawthorne's sister-in-law, tells us that when the work was originally sent to Samuel Griswold Goodrich early in 1834 it consisted of two volumes.[3] Almost certainly, parts of *The Story Teller* were, in time, simply lost or discarded, while other parts appeared in different publications. Hawthorne would surely have wanted to salvage as much copy from his abandoned project as was possible. But what these salvaged pieces were, or where they appeared, no one has been able to say.

Although I think it is impossible to track down all of the published fragments of the project, it is possible, I believe, to demonstrate that the three pieces published in the 1836 *Token*—"The Wedding Knell," "The Maypole of Merry Mount," "The Minister's Black Veil"—and "Little Annie's Ramble," published in the 1835 *Youth's Keepsake*, were all, very probably, parts of *The Story Teller*. If this is so, then the dates of composition for these pieces are earlier (usually accepted as being fairly close to publication date) than has customarily been assumed; moreover, if the earlier dates of composition can be established (that is, no later than early 1834), then we shall have further evidence that Hawthorne achieved mastery of the short story very early in his career.

Although Goodrich, to whom the manuscript of *The Story Teller* was sent early in 1834, declined to publish the work as a book, he was evidently sufficiently impressed to persuade Joseph T. Buckingham to publish it serially in his *New England Magazine* (Conway, p. 32). Accordingly, the first two installments of the work appeared in the November and December, 1834, issues of the magazine. Unfortunately, however, Buckingham withdrew as editor after the December issue, and the two new editors, Samuel G. Howe and John O. Sargent (as well as Park Benjamin, who became sole editor in March, 1835[4]), declined to do more than publish selected individual fragments. At this point the dissection of *The Story*

[2] Adkins, pp. 135-141. In addition, Adkins makes a convincing case for our accepting "The Seven Vagabonds" as being the original introduction to the project (p. 134), and "An Ontario Steamboat" as being one of the travel interludes (p. 140).

[3] Moncure Conway, *Life of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (London, 1890), p. 32.

[4] Although *The Story Teller* was cut up before Benjamin became editor, a letter cited in Merle H. Hoover's *Park Benjamin* (p. 50) indicates that Benjamin's opinion carried editorial weight even before he succeeded to the position titularly in March, 1835. Hawthorne himself always blamed Benjamin for cutting up *The Story Teller*. (See George E. Woodberry's *Nathaniel Hawthorne*, p. 70.)

Teller began. The *New England Magazine* editors evidently cut out nineteen or twenty pieces for themselves; sixteen appeared in their periodical throughout 1835, and three (or four) were carried off by Park Benjamin to New York when the *New England Magazine* was absorbed into the *American Monthly Magazine* at the end of 1835.[5]

So much we know for a certainty; but we also have a hint as to what happened to at least a small part of the remaining fragments. Both Elizabeth Peabody (Conway, p. 32) and George Parsons Lathrop (in his introduction to the Riverside edition of *Twice-Told Tales*) assert that Goodrich skimmed off parts of *The Story Teller* for his gift-book, *The Token*, but which parts, or how many, neither one says. There is, however, a clue to their identity. After commenting that Goodrich did appropriate some parts of the project, Lathrop adds, "as a curious fact in literary history," that Goodrich paid Hawthorne only three dollars for each piece he took (p. 10). Since nothing of Hawthorne's appeared in the 1834 *Token*, any fragments of *The Story Teller* that Goodrich used would have had to wait until the 1835 issue. However, since the contents of the 1835 *Token* must have been assembled for publication as early as mid-1834,[6] and since the contents of *The Story Teller* were not broken up until 1835, none of the fragments could have appeared in the 1835 *Token*.[7] We know, moreover, that Goodrich paid Hawthorne about fourteen dollars a story for the eight pieces in the 1837 *Token*, and that the five pieces in the 1838 *Token*, the last Hawthorne submitted to this annual, were solicited in February, 1837, and were probably paid for at the same rate as those for the previous year.[8] By a process of elimination, therefore, the "three-dollar pieces" must be among the three published in the 1836 *Token*. I am convinced that all three—"The Wedding Knell," "The Maypole of Merry

[5] Hawthorne's reaction to Benjamin's high-handedness was naturally quite bitter: "Thus has this man, who would be considered a Maecenas, taken from a penniless writer material incomparably better than his own brain could supply" (Horatio Bridge, "Personal Recollections of Nathaniel Hawthorne," *Harper's Magazine*, 84 [February, 1892], p. 360).

[6] *The Token*, as well as most other annuals, usually appeared on the market a few months before the year designation so as to be available for Christmas gifts. In fact, many of the annuals were even sub-titled "A Christmas Gift," but the idea of such a gift on such a day offended enough religious scruples so that "A New Year's Offering" was eventually added to many of the sub-titles.

[7] On this point, as well as several others in this paper, I am indebted to Professor Adkins, whose criticism of the original version of this paper has enabled me to avoid several errors.

[8] A more detailed account of this evidence can be found in my "Hawthorne's Income from *The Token*," *Studies in Bibliography*, 8 (1956), pp. 236-238.

Mount," and "The Minister's Black Veil"—originally belonged to the project.[8a]

There is also some biographical evidence (conjectural, I admit) for my contention that the three pieces in the 1836 *Token* probably belonged originally to *The Story Teller*. The years 1835 and 1836—from the fracturing of *The Story Teller* until at least the tail-end of 1836 when the prospect of getting *Twice-Told Tales* published must have cheered Hawthorne—were hardly encouraging ones. Three of his projects had already failed to be published in book form,[9] and those pieces which he did get into periodicals brought him woefully little either in money or renown. In speaking of *The Story Teller*, Elizabeth Peabody says that Hawthorne told her that "he cared little for the stories afterwards, which had in their original place in *The Story Teller* a great deal of significance; and he got little or nothing as pay." Moreover, as she justly adds, since "nobody reviews stories in magazines, it did not serve the purpose of introducing him into the world of letters" (Conway, p. 32). Perhaps the surest index to his despondency in this period was his willingness to let Goodrich take what he wanted from *The Story Teller* at $3 apiece. It seems unlikely that the Hawthorne to whom Bridge could write in 1836 ——"I fear that you are too good a subject for suicide, and that some day you will end your mortal woes on your own responsibility"[10]—would go on turning out stories and sketches which even if published would bring him neither money nor fame. Moreover, the only other pieces published in 1836 were the hack essays for the *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge* which he edited for the first six months of 1836, and which, after all, stemmed from the need to fill an issue rather than from the creative urge. Some years earlier Hawthorne added this tired postscript to a letter to Goodrich: "I think I shall close my literary labours

[8a] These three pieces would have fit into some of the loosely defined categories of *The Story Teller*, at least insofar as we are able to ascertain them through other fragments. "The Maypole of Merry Mount" is an allegorical treatment of an historical incident like "The Gray Champion"; "The Minister's Black Veil" is a brooding treatise on sin in a Calvinistically-oriented world like "Young Goodman Brown"; and "The Wedding Knell" is a Gothic horror story like "The White Old Maid."

[9] In "The Devil in Manuscript," a fictionalized version of Hawthorne's failure to get a publisher for his first collection, *Seven Tales of My Native Land*, Hawthorne has the narrator say, "No American publisher will meddle with an American work, —seldom if by a known writer, and never if by a new one,—unless at the writer's risk."

[10] Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife* (Boston, 1884), I, 142.

with what I have already begun."[11] Not much that happened in the intervening years, and especially the years 1835-1836, would have justified his not having taken his own advice.

There is also some circumstantial evidence that "Little Annie's Ramble," published in the *Youth's Keepsake* for 1835, also originally belonged to *The Story Teller*. If this warmly human though rather sentimental sketch of the "charm of childhood" was not originally a part of the project—that is, if its composition did not antedate the frustrating years—then it is indeed a curious anomaly. Some factors, however, seem to point to the fact that it was. Although Buckingham did not give up the editorial chair of the *New England Magazine* until December, 1834, he sold the periodical in October, 1834, to the publisher E. R. Broaders, who continued to publish it until 1836.[12] At about the same time that he was taking over Buckingham's periodical, Broaders also became the publisher of the *Youth's Keepsake*.[13] It is quite possible that Broaders asked the editor of his other publishing venture, Park Benjamin, for suggestions about material to be included in the *Youth's Keepsake*, and Benjamin, remembering the sketch from his reading of *The Story Teller* manuscript, had Hawthorne submit it. That Broaders leaned upon Benjamin for the compilation of the 1835 *Youth's Keepsake* can be seen in the fact that he had Benjamin write the preface to the volume.[14] Of course it is also possible that Broaders directly, or indirectly through Benjamin, asked Hawthorne to write a special piece for his juvenile gift-book, but the lighthearted tone of the piece leads me to believe that the piece was composed earlier as part of *The Story Teller*. If it is difficult to imagine how "Little Annie's Ramble" might have fitted into the scheme of *The Story Teller*, one need only recall that the itinerant raconteur's plan was to establish "a dramatic relationship between the framework and the stories making up the collection" (Adkins, p. 135). An audience of parents and children would have served to place "Little Annie's Ramble" in a quite satisfactory "frame."

In 1840, in looking back on the days in the "old accustomed chamber" in his house in Salem, Hawthorne wrote Sophia, "If ever I should have a

[11] Quoted by Adkins, p. 128.

[12] Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850* (New York, 1930), p. 599.

[13] Ralph Thompson, *American Literary Annuals and Gift Books, 1825-1865* (New York, 1936), p. 162.

[14] Although the preface is signed only as "P. B.", both Thompson (p. 163) and Jacob Blanck in his *Bibliography of American Literature* (New Haven, 1955), p. 198, ascribe it to Benjamin.

biographer, he ought to make a great mention of this chamber in my memoirs, because so much of my lonely youth was wasted here . . . and here I have been glad and hopeful, and here I have been despondent."[15] If I have satisfactorily demonstrated that Hawthorne wrote nothing creative for some time after the failure of *The Story Teller*, then we can perhaps better understand his pessimism and despondency. Perhaps it also shows how perilously close Hawthorne came to abandoning a writing career. Fortunately for American literature, however, Hawthorne had a kind friend through whose efforts *Twice-Told Tales* was eventually published, and "that one talent which is death to hide" was no longer "lodged with him useless."

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[15] *Passages from the American Notebooks* (Boston, 1868), pp. 222-223.

Book Reviews

Perrault's Tales of Mother Goose. The dedication manuscript of 1695 reproduced in collotype facsimile with introduction and critical text by Jacques Barchilon. [Device] New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1956. Two volumes. 168 and 130 pp. 8½ x 6 inches. $18.00; hand-colored copies, $35.00. Edition of 600 copies.

This is an extremely handsome publication, beautifully printed, elegantly bound. Two hundred and fifty copies out of the six hundred printed contain the seven gouache illustrations of the MS, colored by hand in pochoir by the Maria Bittner Studio. The collotype facsimile of the hitherto unknown MS is as clearly legible as it is artistic. Five universally celebrated tales are reproduced: "Sleeping Beauty" (La Belle au Bois Dormant), "Blue Beard" (Barbe Bleue), "Puss-in-Boots" (Le Chat Botté), "Little Red Riding-Hood" (Le Petit Chaperon Rouge) and "The Fairy" (La Fée).

These original Tales by Perrault were first published in Paris in 1697. A discovery made in Nice, in 1953, revealed that an earlier version had existed in manuscript; the manuscript, a luxurious dedication copy intended for Mademoiselle (the daughter of the Princesse Palatine and of Louis XIV's own brother, Philippe d'Orléans), who was nineteen when the copy was calligraphed for her, was purchased for the Morgan Library. Its date is 1695. Charles Perrault was then sixty-seven and in retirement, devoting himself to the education of his children, one of whom, Pierre, aged seventeen in 1695, has been claimed by commentators of the time to have actually composed the Tales. Three tales were subsequently added to the five original ones, to make the book which, more than any other, not excluding La Fontaine's *Fables*, has from childhood been familiar to all the men and women of France—and of several other countries.

The first volume gives the text of the five tales, reproduced in collotype in the second. The transcription is done according to the most exacting demands of scholarship, with the idiosyncrasies of the scribe (only a few

occasional corrections are in Perrault's own hand) reproduced and the variants between the manuscript version and the first edition scrupulously transcribed in the footnotes. Scrupulousness and accuracy are indeed, as they had to be, the most eminent merits of this edition. Some one hundred pages by the editor, Jacques Barchilon, precede the text and attempt a biographical sketch and a study of the Tales. It must be confessed that they prove a disappointment. The figure of Charles Perrault is an original one; he survives through his tales, supposed to be of the kind that a Mother Goose, or peasant woman watching over her flock of geese, might relate. But they were in his eyes and in those of his contemporaries a very minor achievement of a man who was also an architect, a scholar, a coiner of inscriptions, a polygraph, a staunch defender of the moderns against the cult of the ancients and a judicious champion of several writers of that age, such as La Fontaine. M. Barchilon has hardly attempted to lend to the man and to his age the vivid life which they had possessed.

Four chapters discuss the authorship of the tales, their sources, the textual changes brought by Perrault, and his literary achievement. The authorship had been questioned by contemporaries but must clearly be ascribed to Perrault, as briefly argued by the present editor. The sources were anonymous and popular sources, about which we know next to nothing; but a sixteenth-century Italian, Straparola, had already given a version of "Puss-in-Boots" which had been rendered into French; and Basile, a seventeenth-century Neapolitan, who had related three or four stories on themes similar to Perrault's Tales, may have been known to the Frenchman. But Perrault, if he imitated him at all, practiced an original and re-creative imitation, not unworthy of the genius of La Fontaine.

Perrault's artistry is remarkable, and M. Barchilon's comments on that aspect of his author are meager, dry and uninspired. Even when he is at his best, on factual and textual matters, the editor hardly departs from the constrained manner of a doctoral dissertation. The analysis of Perrault's vocabulary, imagery and syntax is reduced to less than a minimum. How, in the closing years of the seventeenth century, a staid academician retained a taste for "préciosité" and blended some effete gracefulness with a truly classical simplicity and a discerning economy of means deserved further analysis. How a courtier and a bourgeois had his roots in the myths and legends, even in the taste of the common people, and linked popular themes with classical literature, should have been explored more searchingly. There was a problem, of which M. Barchilon appears to remain unaware, in the classical moderation of Perrault's incursions into the

fantastic. Sainte-Beuve remarked that those fairies seemed to have read Descartes and that there lingered a satisfying logic in the absurd of France's most popular fairy tales. The marvelous is seldom imposed imaginatively upon the reader, as it will be in Coleridge and Rimbaud, and in many a nineteenth-century fantastic tale. It is prepared and even explained rationally.

M. Barchilon is much too wary of enriching, and even of enlivening, his subject. Even if he had been bent on remaining a strict and aloof literary historian, he could have commented further, following a keen study on the vogue for fairy tales in France in the last years of the seventeenth century published in 1928 and in French by an American scholar, Mary E. Storer, on the extraordinary proliferation of such tales in an age taken to be one of rationalism. Contemporaries of Bossuet and of Boileau relished the fantastic, just as contemporaries of Descartes and of La Rochefoucauld, as the late abbé Bremond showed, counted many mystics, and Voltaire's public included innumerable illuminists and occultists. The solid and precise merits of M. Barchilon's edition would have been enhanced by a little more imaginative treatment of his subject and a more artistic style. More concern with beauty would have graced a very beautiful edition.

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Rolph, J. Alexander. *Dylan Thomas, A Bibliography.* Foreword by Dame Edith Sitwell. London, J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd.; New York, New Directions [1956]. xix, 108 pp. 16 plates. $8.50.

The appearance of a descriptive bibliography of Dylan Thomas makes it evident that his writings are now in the domain of the collector. Earlier lists of his works have been published but only one of them will still be needed, since it includes works *about* the poet. This is William H. Huff's bibliography which appears in an appendix to Elder Olson's *The Poetry of Dylan Thomas* (University of Chicago Press, c1954).

Dylan Thomas's gifts as a poet were recognized not only by critics and other poets, but also by his listeners who found his public readings the most memorable we have had in our time. His style still is echoed in the work of his contemporaries; his life, still a legend, had become one long before his death on November 9, 1953. "Surely," wrote another poet, "this deft-dirged, over-oded, buzzard-hungry, heron-lonely, phoenix-

hearted, gull-lunged, hummingbird-pulsed, falcon-winged and lark-tongued Chanticleer has crowed his own Farewells and Hails."

Mr. Rolph describes each of the separate publications of Thomas, giving lined titles, binding, collation, publication notes, pre-publication history and contents. This is followed by contributions to periodicals, 1925-1956, including translations through the year 1944; contributions to books (only those which have first printings in book form are included); translations of books, and a listing of phonograph recordings read by Thomas and others. Serious attention has been given to textual revision. An author's second thoughts, reflected in later printings of his works, are too often overlooked by bibliographers. Mr. Rolph has treated them with the importance they deserve.

The career of Dylan Thomas began at the age of eleven, when his poem, "Song of a Mischievous Dog," appeared in the *Swansea Grammar School Magazine*. His first book, *18 Poems*, was published at London in December, 1934, shortly after his twentieth birthday, and its first review appeared, quite appropriately, on New Year's Day, 1935. He was first introduced to American readers in the August, 1938, issue of *Poetry* and in *New Directions in Prose and Poetry 1938*. In the following year, his first American book, *The World I Breathe*, was published by New Directions.

New Directions continued to be his official publisher in America, while J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd. assumed the same rôle in London, in 1936. If this suggests bibliographical dullness, with an established routine of publication in England to be followed by an American edition of the same text, this bibliography will hold many surprises. In general contents and often in textual detail most of the English books differ from those published here.

There are other interesting variations in the publication pattern. *New Poems* was first printed at the Elm Tree Press, but the edition had to be destroyed because the page size did not correspond to other titles in the New Directions series, "Poets of the Month." It remains to be seen if any sheets of the first printing survived. In 1947, Dent issued thirty-five proof copies of *The Doctor and the Devils*. The book was not published until 1953, and in this lapse of time the chief character's name was changed from "Salter" to "Rock." Limited, signed editions were made of *Twenty-Six Poems* (1950) which had no trade edition, *In Country Sleep* (1952), and *Collected Poems* (1952). A broadside, *From In Memory of Ann Jones*, was published as one of the Caseg Broadsheets in 1942. It, the first two editions of *18 Poems* and the separate publication of the posthumous novel, *Adventures in the Skin Trade*, were not published either by Dent or New

Directions. The compiler does not explain why the novel happens to have been issued by Putnam in London.

The bibliography is the careful record of a sizable body of work in poetry and prose. It is difficult to say what might have been his achievement had Dylan Thomas lived beyond his thirty-ninth year. John Malcolm Brinnin, who observed the increasing difficulties he had in composition, believed that he had passed the peak of his creative activity. Certainly, few poems appeared during the later years. From 1946 to 1953, only eight new poems are recorded by Mr. Rolph and one of these was left incomplete at the time of his death. Yet *Under Milk Wood* was finished in 1953, and this "play for voices"—printed in three different versions—is one of the greatest of his legacies.

GERALD D. MCDONALD

The New York Public Library

WHITMAN, WALT. *The Eighteenth Presidency!* A Critical Text Edited by Edward F. Grier. Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas Press, 1956. x, 47 pp. $2.00.

One hundred years ago, between editions of *Leaves of Grass*, Walt Whitman wrote a political tract during the heated presidential campaign of Millard Fillmore (Whig and American [Know-Nothing]), James Buchanan (Democrat), and John Charles Frémont (Republican), which he called *The Eighteenth Presidency!* Although it was apparently not published by him, four known copies exist of a two-page proof of the essay, one of which has a notation in Whitman's hand: "written & printed summer of 1856." The proofs may have been sent to editors or rich men to win their support for his ideas. A new edition on the centenary of its composition is called for despite three previous printings: a French translation by Sylvia Beach and Adrienne Monnier in *Le Navire d'Argent*, III (March, 1926), 99-125; a limited edition issued by Jean Catel (Montpellier and Paris, 1928); and its inclusion in *Walt Whitman's Workshop* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928, pp. 85-113), edited by Clifton Joseph Furness. All of these have defects, for the first is only a translation, the second is difficult to obtain and has six variations, and the third contains 42 errors.

Based on copies of the proof-sheets in the Library of Congress and the private collection of Mr. Charles E. Feinberg of Detroit, Professor Edward F. Grier of the University of Kansas has edited a critical text with

a 20-page introduction and a brief preface and notes. It is attractively printed, the introduction is valuable and informative, and the notes are useful. Unfortunately the binding and the lettering on the spine leave much to be desired: though librarians may be satisfied with the cloth, collectors will certainly be glad that the dust jacket covers the hard and unattractive green. This does not, however, reflect in any way on the careful work of the editor, who has indicated by the use of brackets the marginal and interlinear changes which Whitman made in the two proofs now in Mr. Feinberg's library.

The Eighteenth Presidency! does not favorably compare with the best of Whitman's prose such as the prefaces to the *Leaves*, "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads," *Specimen Days*, and *Democratic Vistas*. Opinions of scholars vary as to its merit: Amy Lowell regarded it as "la plus belle page de Whitman"; Henry Seidel Canby described it in such phrases as "extraordinary pamphlet . . . diatribe . . . an outburst . . . [and] magnificent propaganda"; and Professor Grier says that it "is not contemptible. Its faults are, of course, obvious. [For] Whitman was often a poor stylist, and his prose is always clumsy . . . Yet there is much to be said for the tract . . . for passionate energy is its chief characteristic. Furthermore it is Whitman's most carefully organized prose work."

Hardly an aid to the Republicans and Frémont, which Furness believed *The Eighteenth Presidency!* to be, the essay is an attack on party politics and on the cynicism, ineptitude and lack of vision of politicians. Whitman cries for the preservation of the Union by a reform of the political system—he wanted nothing less than the abolition of all parties. As Mr. Grier says, "In the place of parties he proposed a working-class youth movement. North, South, East, and West, the young workingmen were to repudiate parties and take the leadership to which they were destined by the American tradition, not to overthrow the Union but to maintain it." The poet's idealism and apparent political naïveté—in spite of his long experience as editor of the Brooklyn *Eagle* and other newspapers—had blinded him to the fact that it was during his own lifetime that the party system had developed as a Constitutional necessity.

The interest in the essay lies in its relationship to Whitman's poetry: the tract is an expression of its author's political nationalism in contrast to the spiritual nationalism of the *Leaves of Grass*. Certain phrases from the prose piece are repeated in earlier and later poems; and while Whitman's verse is lyrical and private where this pamphlet is declaratory and public, there is a similarity of techniques—rhetoric, sentence rhythms, an

oratorical quality, and the inevitable catalogues, lists of cities, occupations, and epithets.

Collectors and libraries will want *The Eighteenth Presidency!* as an expression of Whitman's political views during a critical period of American history. Although it has its faults, the piece is a fervent display of the poet's devout patriotism. Students can thank Edward F. Grier for the production of what is undoubtedly a definitive edition of a slight but unusual polemic.

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